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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-181
Monday
19 September 1988

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Geneva Delegations Update Draft Protocol

LD1609174288 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Geneva September 16 TASS—The delegations to the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms continued work over the past week in the groups on strategic offensive weapons and on space armaments with a view to drafting a treaty on the 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons in the conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty.

The delegations prepared updated drafts and adjoining documents reflecting progress reached in the course of the current round and issues demanding their solution in the future.

The joint text of the draft protocol to the future agreement on compliance and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty has been updated.

The updated drafts will be submitted by the delegations to the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state during their forthcoming meeting in Washington.

Gerasimov Views Krasnoyarsk Initiative

LD1809205388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Sep 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] This summer saw international relations roll forward as a result of the push they had received earlier. On the one hand, a start was made on real, true disarmament as the Soviet Union and the United States began destroying intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. We carried out joint experimental nuclear explosions. We will be returning to them a little later.

But, on the other hand, progress clearly came to a standstill. The United States even stated that no agreement on reducing strategic offensive weapons is possible while the Soviet Union maintains the radar station near Karsnoyarsk. According to them, this station violates the ABM Treaty. The United States takes the view that this relay station could be used for the purposes of antimissile defense while the treaty bans such stations deep inside national territory.

We invited eminent U.S. guests to visit it in order for them to see for themselves that the station would have scientific and not military purposes. The eminent guests noted the poor quality of construction and even said that in the United States the person in charge of such a construction site would probably be dismissed. But even this caustic observation did not prevent the Americans from sticking to their guns, although the station is no logner even a long-term construction project and has been frozen.

To be honest, the U.S. linkage of the fate of this station with the fate of nuclear disarmament cannot be sincere. It is an attempt to find a pretext to justify plans for setting up their own antimissile defense—they say you get Star Wars in exchange for Krasnoyarsk.

Nonethless there was deadlock, and it had to be broken. The opening came in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk on Friday. We proposed setting up on the site of the Krasnoyarsk station a center for international cooperation in the use of space for peaceful purposes. This internationalization of the situation should relieve the anxiety of the West, whether it be forced or sincere. The speech also contained seven proposals on bringing peace and tranquility to the Asia-Pacific region. These proposals will probably be widely discussed in the days ahead.

Participants Cited on Semipalatinsk Test

PM1609081388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[Article by special correspondent A. Gorokhov: "A Sign of Hope. Report From the Soviet Nuclear Test Site"]

[Text] ***Semipalatinsk—An underground nuclear explosion with a yield of between 100 and 150 kilotons was carried out within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. joint verification experiment at the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site at 0800 hours Moscow time yesterday. The news of this explosion spread all over the planet, a sign of hope for a nuclear-free world.***

It felt as if someone had dealt a hard blow against one's heels. It is hard to pick even a remotely suitable analogy from everyday life to give PRAVDA readers some idea of the powerful impact caused by the explosion of a nuclear device sited 642 meters beneath the surface of the Balapan Steppe. This might give an idea: Stand on a table that you are not too worried about and ask the strongest of your friends to hit it with a sledgehammer from underneath.

We were 4 km away from the epicenter. The earth shook, the tripods of movie and still cameras shook, someone's briefcase flew off a bench, and the spontaneous applause of Soviet and U.S. experts was drowned out by guffaws at the observation stand which greeted the remote operator's question: "Should we try again?!"

What was it that brought diplomats, military personnel, scientists, and journalists here, to the Kazakh steppe? Here, where Soviet and U.S. experts spent several months at work drilling the main or, as it is known here, the "live" bore hole and next to it, just 10-15 meters away, the auxiliary measuring hole. The auxiliary hole housed the U.S. "diagnostic" equipment used in the hydrodynamic method proposed by the United States for direct measurement of nuclear explosion yields at explosion sites, known as the "Corrtex" method. A doctor of technical sciences, Professor V. Mikhaylov explained it to me.

"The task of the joint verification experiment," he said, "is to compare improved verification methods for the so-called 'threshold' treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests of 1974. In our view, the teleseismic method is perfectly effective and adequate, especially since the other side's personnel need not necessarily be present at the test site. The United States is proposing its own method, which we call the hydrodynamic method, based on measurements taken directly at the test site. The joint experiment will make it possible to compare the efficiency, suitability, and convenience of the two methods, in other words to lay foundations for the future elaboration of decisions and for transition from theoretical computations to practical work...."

We arrived at the spot approximately 1 hour before the explosion, when all preparatory work had been done and experts had taken their working positions in special measuring "trucks." We had time to become slightly familiar with our surroundings.

I will make no secret of this: I found that I did not have the easiest of tasks describing a Soviet military installation that is among those most closely guarded against prying eyes, the people who serve here, their daily life, the tests being conducted here, and especially the joint verification experiment. The available information spanned across the spectrum, and there was an exceptionally large number of meetings and conversations with residents of this town—no, it is not a town, it is a city—on the banks of the Irtysh River, and with guests who had flown here from Moscow and from Geneva, where the talks are being held. Actually, the term "guests" is not all that suitable for many of the Soviet military and civilian experts—much of their life is in one way or another linked with the test site.

I realize that a newspaper report will not be long enough even to list their names. Let me mention the main point: their benevolent attitude to mass media representatives, the desire to help....

N. Vakulin, who drove our "Volga," a native of the region, performed driving miracles and was instrumental in ensuring that the materials for PRAVDA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA were transmitted on time.... Communications specialists Colonel M. Grikhin, Lieutenant Colonels N. Blokhin and P. Kurinov, Private 1st Class S. Bezrukova, who provided the links with editorial offices.... Test site scientists Colonels V. Boyko and R. Blinov, Lieutenant Colonels S. Smagulov and A. Andreyev; Major A. Arianov. In addition to everything else, many of them have also gone through the Chernobyl experience—a detail of considerable importance. They explained the specific features of the forthcoming experiment, took us around the scientific subdivisions' small museum, and allowed us to sit briefly behind the console which, according to tradition, was manned by Igor Vasilyevich Kurchatov....

Test site chief Lieutenant General A. Ilyenko and political officer Major General G. Soldatov, who, as you can imagine, had no time for lengthy conversations under such pressure, still managed to give a briefing on the history of the much-decorated test site where the first Soviet nuclear charge was tested in August 1949.

Aviation Lieutenant General S. Zelentsov, participant in the Geneva talks and eyewitness of almost all our nuclear explosions in the air and on land: "We will manage to achieve success only under conditions of complete trust...."

The chief of one of the USSR Defense Ministry's Main Directorates made no secret of the fact that service here is far from easy: It is hard and carries great responsibility. Test site experts have to "plan explosions" so as to obtain the necessary results and to prevent dangerous radioactive emissions. The general gave credit mainly to the test site personnel for the fact that nothing like this has happened here and that, to this day, background radiation in the Semipalatinsk region does not exceed unionwide values.

"The main point is," he added, "that the country's defense might was being created here, and it was here that the foundations of military-strategic parity were laid, ultimately ensuring the start of negotiating processes."

Diplomat I. Palenykh, head of the USSR delegation to the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on the limitation and termination of nuclear tests: "The union of diplomacy, science, technology, and military work seems to be here, in Semipalatinsk. Scientists produce ideas which are reflected at the talks, and vice versa. This experiment is a unique event which would have been difficult to even imagine just a year ago. But now it is a gratifying fact. The next task is to translate the results it produces into 'treaty' language and to complete the work on the protocol to the 1974 treaty which, just like the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, has still not come into force...."

By way of amplifying the Soviet diplomat's words by our own "measurements," let us trace—briefly of course—the dynamics of this unique project whose results are at the focus of attention not only of the "nuclear club" member states but, it seems, of every living being on the planet earth. Accord was reached a year ago to conduct full-scale Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear test problems. These talks began in November last year. On 9 December USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz issued a statement on the procedure for conducting a joint verification experiment. The agreement to conduct the experiment was signed 31 May 1988 during the fourth Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. Soviet measuring equipment was delivered to the United States on 14 June on board an AN-124 "Ruslan" aircraft. At the end of the month the sides exchanged complete data on the 10 preceding explosions (5 by each side) as a backup to seismic measurement methods. U.S. equipment was delivered to Semipalatinsk in July. The first explosion under the "joint verification experiment" program rumbled at the Nevada nuclear test site on 17 August. Now it is the turn of the Kazakh steppe....

This is an enviable "pace," isn't it? That is what inspires hope.

U.S. delegation leader Paul Robinson, who also heads the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks, declared at a news conference held inside a spacious tent:

"Our experts will find it difficult to leave their work here. They have simply taken this work to heart. Nonetheless, I hope that they will continue their activity here in the future. An experiment is an experiment when you do not know what its result will be. Now I am pleased to state that we obtained good results. This joint experiment is without precedent. I think that it reflects the concept which, in our country, goes like this: 'Let's try and then we'll buy!' We have had an opportunity to try out different verification methods. This will help us in Geneva.

"This was a wonderful day for us all," the ambassador added. "We will never forget it...."

The participants in the joint experiment were also asked about its "cost." Ambassador Paul Robinson replied that the U.S. part, taking into account expenditure on the Nevada explosion, the delivery of equipment to the Semipalatinsk region, and the drilling of the auxiliary borehole here, has cost approximately $25 million. Expenditure on the Soviet side is estimated at R20 million. Yes, any live experiment, if one could use the expression—be it in the nuclear arms sphere or in the sphere of the peaceful use of nuclear energy—does not come cheap. But A. Protsenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, who was present at the explosion in the Semipalatinsk region, was perfectly justified in remarking in this context:

"This is a small price to pay for the achievement of an imposing and sacred goal—to rid mankind of nuclear weapons."

I will let you in on a small secret: The headline of this report was Prof V. Mikhaylov's idea. It was he who spoke at the news conference about "a sign of hope for a nuclear-free world." I do not know what method of measurement will be preferred by experts or what compromise, if any, they will reach; one thing is clear, however: The experimental explosions in Nevada and near Semipalatinsk are giving mankind a "sign of hope."

NATO Policies on Arms 'Contradictory'

PM1609085388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Vladislav Drobkov under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Push, Pull"]

[Text] Recent reports from Washington and the other NATO capitals produce contradictory impressions. Some of them—like the report on the initiation of the destruction of U.S. intermediate-range missiles—attest to progress on disarmament. Others talk of dangerous new Pentagon ventures. That is the only possible interpretation of the news about the start of development in the United States of a new type of nuclear missile with "burrowing" warheads and the resumption of work by the U.S. Air Force to create a special communications system in the event of nuclear war. Nor do the West European NATO allies' efforts to expedite the creation of new types of weapons or to throw together joint military formations like the Franco-West German brigade and so forth look very peace-loving.

This is what is interesting. Almost all these preparations are taking place against a backdrop of loud statements by Western leaders about their desire to continue the course of restraining the arms race and cutting arms—a process begun by the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Moreover, with few exceptions all leading statesmen in the NATO countries welcome the USSR's readiness for new and even more significant cuts in the military sphere. The very fact that the West openly recognizes the constructive nature of Soviet foreign policy pursued on the basis of new political thinking would seemingly attest to a great deal.

Many examples of such positive assessments could be cited. I will dwell on just one—the statements by West German Defense Minister Scholz. He is the last person one would suspect of pacifism or of particular sympathy for the USSR. So it was Scholz, speaking the other day at a prestigious West German public organization—the Adenauer Foundation—who stated that the Soviet leadership's new course is dynamic and open in foreign and domestic policy and that the West has no doubts about the seriousness of Gorbachev's intentions. He cited the elimination of imbalances in the conventional arms sphere, in particular, as one of the most urgent tasks in reducing levels of military confrontation.

I have no grounds for disputing this statement by the West German minister—nor, incidentally, the very objective assessments of the current military-political situation in the world provided by other Western figures. It is something else that confuses me. The entirely just statements about the need to continue efforts in arms control and disarmament, as already noted, have for some reason not been very actively backed up with specific steps by NATO in this direction. More than that—the NATO bloc is directing some of its steps in quite a different direction. Namely, toward a further buildup of both nuclear and conventional arsenals.

Thus, while welcoming the destruction of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles that is under way and allegedly supporting talks on Soviet and U.S. strategic arms cuts, the majority of them repeat with scholarly zeal the well-known Western formula that NATO should not abandon nuclear weapons altogether under any circumstances. Correspondingly, the NATO bloc continues to carry out large-scale programs for improving nuclear arms and is rehearsing a strategy envisaging the use of such weapons. Moreover, as the recent meeting between the French and FRG military ministers showed, attempts are being made to involve Bonn in one way or another in the activities of the West European "nuclear club" and to extend to the FRG the "guarantees" provided by the French nuclear forces. Plans are being drawn up for close collaboration between French and British nuclear forces. Programs for even more active cooperation among the Atlantic partners in the sphere of the development and production of conventional arms are also being discussed. This, in particular, was the subject of the meeting between the military ministers of a number of NATO countries held the other day. Attempts are also continuing to somehow compensate for the withdrawal from Europe of the U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles by deploying other types of nuclear munitions there, redeploying U.S. nuclear-capable aircraft nearer the borders of the socialist countries, and by other ways and means.

One cannot help getting the impression that the NATO bloc is thinking seriously about combining certain actions and calls for restraining the arms race in certain areas while building up the arms race in other areas. But it is surely obvious that the process of military-political detente that has begun moving with such difficulty cannot be simultaneously pushed forward and pulled backward—toward an increase in militarist arsenals. NATO's "push and pull" in this situation smacks more of sabotaging the efforts to really reduce the levels of military confrontation between East and West.

Ambassador Kashlev Addresses Vienna Meeting

LD1609122688 Moscow TASS in English 1124 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Vienna September 16 TASS—Speaking at a plenary session of the Vienna meeting, Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation, informed representatives of 35 states participating in the European process of the Soviet-Austrian talks held in Moscow this week, during which the sides had pointed to a chance of successful completion of the meeting in the next few weeks with impressive results in all directions of the Helsinki process.

The Soviet representative noted that the Vienna meeting had already managed to draft a wide range of understandings enabling its participants to raise cooperation in military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres to a new level. Some 90 per cent of the draft final document raises no objections. Attempts by some NATO delegations to revise important provisions of the draft prevent the meeting from completing its work.

The socialist countries, said the Soviet representative, stand out for carrying out, after Vienna, a broad programme of European measures in all the areas of the Helsinki process, including convocation in Moscow of a representative conference on humanitarian cooperation. It is high time for the West to determine its stand on this question.

'Observers Roundtable' Views Gorbachev Proposals

LD1809193488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 18 Sep 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer, and commentators Viktor Nikolayevich Levin and Vyacheslav Georgiyevich Lavrentyev]

[Text] [Lavrentyev] Hello, comrades! The main topic for our discussion today has been suggested by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk, which contains new, interesting and far-reaching proposals the object of which is to advance the cause of universal peace and detente. Effectively this is a whole program pointing the way to solving many vitally important problems that have been disturbing the international public. In it one can see the new approach by the Soviet Union to the problems of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region that was launched by the Vladivostok initiatives. The first overseas reaction indicates that the Soviet call which rang out from Krasnoyarsk coincides with the hopes of other countries in Asia and the Pacific Ocean basin that the whole of this vast region shall be turned into a zone of peace and cooperation. Nor is there any room for doubt that a decisive political breakthrough is essential in this zone.

[Shishlin] Suffice it to say that this particular zone now accounts for virtually the main part of regional conflicts; and that the most important national, ethnic and religious contradictions are present in this vast and rapidly growing region of the world, a region which is evidently going to be playing a role of prime importance in the coming decades, both at the economic and the political and indeed any other level. No matter what the angle from which we view the problems of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region, however, we have to state the following at least: First of all, a durable and stable peace is unthinkable without a radical improvement in the situation in this part of the world—and in fact the first principle for this process of improvement was set forth 2 years ago when the Soviet Union came out with broad proposals that were contained in the Vladivostok speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Second: World dialogue is not Soviet-U.S. dialogue; world dialogue presupposes participation by the whole of the world community, including, of course, the countries of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region. And the talk must not just be about political problems but about the development of economic cooperation, about the development of spiritual cooperation, about the blending, the mutual penetration and enrichment of the cultures of the East and the West. You remember that Mikhail Sergeyevich said in his speech at Krasnoyarsk that the sun rises in the East. This is a truth that is well enough known to all. But it seems to me that the East has nevertheless to some extent lagged behind those positive processes that are developing in international life and I think that the specific and practical invitation to participate in dialogue and the proposing of practical initiatives by the Soviet Union is of course here [zdes] and it looks, I think, extremely promising, and one is persuaded of this by the first reactions to the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich in Krasnoyarsk. [sentence as heard]

[Levin] In many of the countries of the world people have indeed started to think of late about what has already been achieved and about the kind of prospects there are. If one takes the major Sovietologists, as specialists on the Soviet Union are called in the West, then opinions in the main come together in the view that today it is impossible for armed conflict to break out in Europe as a whole, it is unrealistic. A fairly considerable path has already been covered here toward mutual understanding between the states of the Eastern and Western parts of the continent. Here, too, things are not totally straightforward: Not everything is clear, and the issue of reducing armed forces and armaments, say, is a fairly acute one, talks on this problem have not yet been started in a practical sense, but nevertheless the situation in Europe as a whole is stable enough.

[Shishlin] One has to mention, of course, that the lengthy agenda of our policy for the coming months is still to a considerable extent European in character: Suffice it to mention the upcoming visit of the West German Chancellor Kohl to the Soviet Union and a number of other contacts which are already being envisaged. But excuse me for interrupting you.

[Levin] Quite right. But in Asia, unfortunately, there is a fair amount of material that gives rise to fears and that indicates that very unpleasant clashes between different states are capable of taking place there. At best—let's be blunt about it—there is less stability there today than there is in Europe and this point is evidence of the fact that solving the problems that are being encountered by the states of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region has been placed upon the agenda by life itself. There's no running away from it. There must be an immediate start on solving these problems and the new proposals by the Soviet Union which were set out in Krasnoyarsk by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, by way of developing the Vladivostok initiatives, do indeed open up fresh prospects. It is sufficient to mention, say, the fact that we are raising the issue of the possibility of starting new talks at any level between the states of this region. Very interesting, it seems to me, is the idea of organizing contacts between the Soviet Union, China and the United States—permanent members of the UN Security Council—as the first step toward such broad talks. And it seems to me that the idea of a meeting between the foreign ministers of this region could be very productive. All these, however, are methods: But what are the objectives? These objectives were also discussed in this speech in very great detail and I think that it is worth concentrating attention upon this.

[Shishlin] Yes, but before concentrating attention upon this perhaps we should say a few words to our radio listeners, Viktor Nikolayevich, about what in fact has already been done. I believe that the assets side of the balance sheet with regard to Soviet policy in the Asian and Pacific Ocean area is quite substantial. First and foremost I am thinking of the enrichment and the improvement of our relations with China. And quite frankly I was very pleased about the Soviet Union's clear and open position with regard to the possibility of holding a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. Things are moving toward that. Of this I have no doubt. We have already had occasion to talk about the very great significance of the recent exchange of opinions between our two countries at deputy foreign minister level on Cambodia. This is somewhat unusual in the Soviet-Chinese dialogue. In other areas there are already some noticeable extensions with regard to Soviet-Chinese cooperation. In my opinion Soviet-Chinese relations are moving out of the frozen stage. It is high time that we put these relations onto a constructive track, that we put them into a constructive channel, to put it more accurately. Of course a great deal here is going to depend upon Tokyo's position. The statements that are now being made in the Japanese capital and also the Soviet approach to Japan in my view do open up the possibility for stepping up Soviet-Japanese political dialogue, the more so in view of the fact that what is noticeable now is just not a desire for political dialogue to be developed and enriched but a return on the part of Japanese business circles to the idea that Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation does have prospects. Now, when fermentations of such good quality are working in the Soviet Far East, when what we are talking about is essentially the setting up of special concessionary zones for the development of mutual business links, this looks very, very promising, although active and vigorous work is going to be necessary.

[Lavrentyev] Yes, and I consider that a model for bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries in this region already exists, if one takes, say, the Soviet Union's relations with India.

[Shishlin] That is a very true thought, the more so in view of the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich has announced that there is going to be yet another summit meeting between the Soviet Union and India. This will of course serve not only in adding up some of the results of the development of Soviet-Indian interaction, but also in extending to new landmarks the broad, close, interested and full mutual links which exist between our country and India.

[Levin] Nikolay Vladimirovich, in connection with what we have achieved in the development of Soviet-Indian relations I would note that Mikhail Sergeyevich's last visit to Delhi was crowned with the signing of the Delhi declaration, a document which provides a philosophical interpretation of the new thinking, a call for a nonviolent, nuclear-free world, to which two great powers have affixed their signatures. No doubt this document has yet to disclose all that it is potentially capable of.

[Shishlin] No, this is of course a document of significance for the whole world. It affects not just India, not just the Soviet Union: What we are talking about is a declaration about a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. That is how I understand it. And I agree that this document is indeed one of the cornerstones in the whole concept of the new political thinking. This is a document for today, for tomorrow, for all time. Nevertheless I think that when we speak about the capital with which we are embarking upon the new policy with regard to the Asian and Pacific Ocean region, we should still mention the real progress that has already been made where regional conflicts are concerned through using, indeed, political methods for overcoming these regional conflicts.

[Lavrentyev] This was shown very clearly in the latest efforts by the UN organization and people are already talking about this organization's second wind: They are talking about the fact that the peace-making potential has risen considerably. In literally a few days' time the 43d session of the General Assembly opens in New York and the entire international community is placing great hopes upon this session and upon the UN organization, naturally. It is planned that an enormous number of the most topical issues will be examined at it, issues involving disarmament problems, problems of regional conflicts, right through to ecological problems, which are very acute now.

[Levin] It seems to me that we have now entered a stage in the development of international relations in which the activity of the UN organization—notwithstanding all the importance of General Assembly sessions—is not concentrated in this: The important thing is that the everyday activity of the UN organization is making a very substantial contribution to the development of international relations and to the solution of those problems we are encountering. We talk about regional conflicts in Asia. There is the role of the UN organization in working out the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan—that is one thing; there is the role of the UN organization in working out the decision on a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq—complicated talks are taking place there now, the position of the Soviet Union is a very precise one, the talks process between Iran and Iraq which is again taking place with UN mediation must not be slowed down.

One can say that this solution of regional conflicts, this movement out of the military sphere, so to speak, into the political sphere in Afghanistan and between Iran and Iraq is a prospect which brings hope to all countries and which introduces very important elements into the normalization of the overall situation in Asia, in so far as we are talking about that one first and foremost today: Not just in Asia, but in Asia, undoubtedly, in the first place. And now, therefore, when we are thinking about the prospects for the development of dialogue between the states of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region, we are also thinking about the measures that ought to be taken in order to ensure that the situation in this vast region—there are 3 billion people living in this region, more than half the population of the world—well, we are also thinking about how to ensure that these 3 billion inhabitants live under favorable conditions, to ensure that there is no threat to peace. And in order to achieve that, of course, above all one should aim to reduce military confrontation while developing political, economic, cultural relations. And in Krasnoyarsk Mikhail Sergeyevich added a whole number of new proposals to these which were put forward in Vladivostok.

[Lavrentyev] I think it is worth refreshing them in our memory.

The first initiative is that the Soviet Union will not increase the quantity of any nuclear weapons in the Asian- Pacific region and is putting to the United States as well as other nuclear powers the proposals that there should be no additional siting of these there.

Apart from that, our country is inviting the principal naval powers to the region to take part in consultations about not building up naval forces there.

A proposal was also made to discuss, on a multilateral basis, the issue of reducing the military confrontation in the areas where the coastlines of the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the DPRK and South Korea approach each other, with the aim of freezing and conducting proportional cuts in the levels of air and naval forces, as well as curbing their activity.

The fourth proposal: The USSR will be prepared, in coordination with the Vietnamese Government, to relinquish the naval material and technical supply point in Cam Ranh Bay, should the United States decide to eliminate its naval bases in the Philippines.

The fifth proposal: The Soviet Union is proposing to work out measures to prevent incidents in the open sea and the air above it. This initiative is directed at securing the safety of communications in the region.

The sixth proposal: To hold, by 1990 at the latest, an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

And, finally, the seventh proposal: The Soviet Union is expressing readiness to discuss, at any level and in any composition, the issue of creating a negotiation mechanism for examining the Soviet or any other proposals pertaining to security of the Asian-Pacific region.

[Shishlin] I believe that the United Nations begins its work at this regular session of the General Assembly feeling a bit more confident. And that is for two reasons. As to the first of them, we have already looked into it: The role of the United Nations has really become more prominent and that role is not in the form of words but is a fully active one. And, second, it feels a bit surer of itself because the United States has paid its debts to the United Nations.

Here, justice should be done to the U.S. Administration that it has made a sensible and necessary step. Debts, after all, should be paid.

Turning back to our main subject, I believe that we should take into consideration the following: First, that we have a certain capital in terms of our foreign policies in this particular area. And there is the second factor: that it is, of course, a rapidly growing area, with the largest population, and, it must be said, an area of very rapid economic development.

Incidentally, our science and our journalism alike take, I believe, precious little account of the industrial breakthroughs in such countries as Singapore, Hong Kong...

[Levin, interrupting] South Korea.

[Shishlin, continuing] ... South Korea. Incidentally, the prospects for economic relations with South Korea were also outlined in Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech in Krasnoyarsk.

[Levin] Perhaps, in the course of the Olympic Games, our comrades who visit South Korea will see what it is like. Unfortunately, we have not been able to see much of what has been taking place there, although we have heard sufficiently.

[Shishlin] At the same time we know that there is not only light there but also deep shadows. This should never be forgotten.

So, you can see that these countries, of Asia and the Pacific, can be very good partners in terms of economic cooperation with our country. Very good partners.

[Levin] We are an excellent partner for them too.

[Shishlin] Right, but a great deal of practical work will, of course, be needed now in order to prove it, and our country which is situated in two parts of the world, both in Europe and in Asia, must have one face—but one which is turned both Eastward and Westward.

I believe that looking East does nothing at all to oblige us to close our eyes on what is going on in the West. Even more so because there was also a notable point in the speech of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, when he spoke of an issue which, I believe, is of interest to all: Namely, of the fate of the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic and offensive weapons and on observance of the provisions of the ABM Treaty. As is known, the argument was voiced there by the Americans that if the Soviet Union does not dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar station, then any ABM Treaty would be out of question.

And now a proposal has been put forward which, it seems to me, is not just acceptable for the Americans. It is acceptable, I believe, simply to all, with that radar station being turned into an international center for studying outer space with peaceful purposes—but, of course, the Americans must accept our concern with regard to the corresponding U.S. radar stations in Greenland and Great Britain.

[Levin] It would not be bad if they followed our example and included these radar stations in the system of international research of outer space as well.

[Shishlin] I am afraid this is not going to happen for the time being.

One way or another, as you see, generally speaking, at the moment in fact we are reaching the level of very major deliberations vis-a-vis the Asian-Pacific region. And what I see as very attractive in the Soviet approach is the fact that this approach is not categorical. This approach incorporates many ideas which are voiced in China, Japan, Indonesia, India, other countries of the area. Moreover, it is an insistent invitation: Let us think together, let us decide together, let us act.

[Levin] There is a very interesting point in this issue. When Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke of developing economic ties between the Asian part of the Soviet Union and the states of the Asian-Pacific region, he listed a whole number of ideas, very interesting ideas which open the prospects for such cooperation in entirely new fields. For example, the proposal that deals with endowing the Soviet enterprises, organizations and production cooperatives which are situated in the Asian part, with the right of trading directly on the foreign market.

Or, say, the idea of introducing a Far Eastern differential—the right to use a proportion of hard currency deductions for the needs of the social development of collectives, including the purchase of consumer goods abroad.

[Shishlin] Viktor Nikolayevich, I think that, on the whole, it is permissible to go further here. Any differential in this context must apply not only to the Far East, but also to the country's European part.

[Levin] God grant that it should be like that! And I shall not enumerate all the proposals which Mikhail Sergeyevich made, but behind them one can discern very important—as it seems to me—factors. All this is possible only in the new conditions, in the conditions of the implementation of a radical economic reform. This is possible only on the paths of restructuring. We have spoken about this already more than once in our past broadcasts but I would like to remind you that, yes, the increased authority of Soviet foreign policy is partly the result of vigorous actions in the foreign policy sphere, but in the first place it is the result of the reforms which we are implementing here in the Soviet Union. It is what can be called the effect of restructuring on the entire course of international events.

Attitudes toward us are different now: People are interested in us, and not in a straightforward way. This interest is, on the whole, dictated by various considerations. But, nevertheless, both in Europe and Asia and also in other regions we are always coming up against the United States. The United States is also a state of the Asian-Pacific region. And in this connection I would like to quote some data from a public opinion poll in the United States.

This survey was carried out under the motto "America's New Thinking." And what did this survey show? Seventy-five percent of Americans today believe the possibility of a nuclear conflict breaking out between the United States and the Soviet Union to be unrealistic. The overwhelming majority of Americans are convinced that issues in dispute and tension in relations must be eliminated by means of development of an all-round dialogue and the conclusion of agreements. And only 20 percent continue to regard military might and pressure as the key to all problems.

By the way, these are very curious figures inasmuch as President Reagan and the presidential candidate for the Republican Party, Bush, are saying that all positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations, in particular the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium and Shorter Range Missiles are the result of the policy of strength which the United States was implementing. It looks as if the Americans do not very much share this point of view and that is very interesting.

Ninety-four percent of U.S. citizens now believe that the relations with the Soviet Union have become stable and are continually improving, whereas, as recently as 2 years ago, 60 percent of Americans were convinced that relations between the USSR and the United States were going downhill. And all these specific examples show very vividly that, yes, our restructuring is also changing attitudes toward our country.

But once again it is permissible to remind you that attitudes toward our restructuring represent a downpayment of confidence. Mikhail Sergevich's tour of Kranoyarsk Kray has shown very vividly that our people want a more vigorous implementation of restructuring, want cardinal decisions to be taken and the pace to be speeded up. If this happens, the authority of our foreign policy will increase. Our authority will increase and—I return to the ideas expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev regarding the development of foreign economic ties between the Far East and Siberia and contiguous states—these ideas will find a material basis. They will unquestionably be realized. Of that I have not the slightest doubt. And the more successfully we conduct our affairs, the more interest neighbors will show in developing such relations...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Viktor Nikolayevich, this is of course a truth; it's an axiom which does not require proof because the weightiness of our foreign policy deeds and actions depends on the achievements of our home policy. I totally agree with you here. But I would like to say a little also about something else.

First, what is already there. We have already spoken of the assets that Soviet foreign policy has also in this area. And, after all, our political ties have now expanded geographically. Just look—some 2 years back we had very meager contact with all Asian countries. But now this process is in progress. Many Asian countries are being drawn into a dialogue and the increase in the number of participants in this dialogue does not cause the dialogue to become chaotic but causes it to become richer and more substantial.

A second circumstance: I think that in the West—I don't know whether you have, but I have had occasion to come up against points of view of this kind where people don't know how to classify us: with Europe or with Asia. And they forgot altogether that the Soviet Union is a Eurasian country. They do not accept the point of view that we are Europeans and do not very much agree that we are Asians.

In actual fact I think that in this respect the ideas which the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expounded in Krasnoyarsk and the factual content of this visit show that the Soviet Union is indeed a great power conscious of its responsibility for the destiny of the world, for the destiny of present-day development; conscious of its responsibility for everything taking place and attaching paramount importance to common human interests, common human values, both in the name of resolving the problems of survival and in the name of resolving the tasks which we have become accustomed to describing as global ones. These tasks cannot be resolved by the efforts of the Soviet Union, by the efforts of the United States, or by the efforts of Japan, China and the Europeans, but only by the efforts of the entire world community.

I think that to a certain extent we can say that Soviet foreign policy, which has become dynamic, creative and vivid in its own way has come permanently out of its state of somnolence and is gathering energy and creative inspiration. And I think that both the response and the public opinion polls which you referred to show that this is also yielding results.

[Lavrentyev] At this point our broadcasts comes to an end, comrades.

Goodbye! All the best!

China, U.S., Japan React To Gorbachev Speech

PM1909093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Roundup of PRAVDA correspondents V. Gan, I. Latyshev, and TASS correspondents reports for 17 September: "Good Will and Realism"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the meeting with Krasnoyarsk working people in which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary put forward new proposals for strengthening peace and stability on the continent of Asia and in the Pacific basin is at the focus of attention of foreign countries' politicians and mass media.

China [subhead]

The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the CPC Central Committee, features in a prominent spot of its international page an extensive XINHUA report from Moscow under a big headline: "M.S. Gorbachev Delivers an Important Speech on Questions of the USSR's Relations With the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Region." It highlights a number of the key propositions put foward in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's speech in Krasnoyarsk. The dispatch outlines the new Soviet peace proposals which, as the newspaper stresses, are aimed at "strengthening security in this region."

"Touching upon Sino-Soviet relations," the newspaper writes further, "M.S. Gorbachev stated that the Soviet Union favors the complete normalization of bilateral relations and their development to a level which would correspond to our countries' responsibility for international politics. The USSR is ready to start preparing for a Soviet-Chinese summit without delay. In his view the recent Sino-Soviet working meeting in Beijing concerning a settlement around Cambodia did, in certain respects, expand the zone of mutual understanding on the given question and, at the same time, contribute to the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations."

United States [subhead]

As soon as reports about the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's speech in Krasnoyarsk came over the air waves this morning, correspondents rushed out to learn Washington officialdom's reaction. What they got to hear testifies to the lack of U.S. readiness to seriously consider the possibility of effective steps toward the demilitarization of this vast region of the Far East and the Pacific Ocean.

When journalists asked President Reagan what he thought of the proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, he gave a better answer than anyone else: "I have not yet been able to acquaint myself with the full text and with what he is proposing. But I will do so without fail. We definitely want to do everything we can to improve relations between our two countries.

The positive-sounding statement of the President was immediately "floored" by his spokesman M. Fitzwater. With reference to the fact that the White House had not yet received the text of M.S. Gorbachev's speech, Fitzwater said that he had no "definite answer." Nonetheless he deemed it possible to add that "at first glance, all this does not seem to represent a sensible approach. I would say that our attitude is pessimistic to some extent."

That is to say, Washington's attitude is perfectly obvious. Without having properly weighed the "pros" and the "cons," the local policymakers are writing off Soviet initiatives with one stroke as "propaganda gestures," as an attempt on the part of the USSR "to obtain additional political dividends."

Meanwhile serious observers have highly appraised the new Soviet initiatives right away, in their first reactions. R. Manglapus, the Philippines foreign minister, for instance, has said that tension in Asia would be considerably reduced if U.S. bases in the country were closed down and the Soviet base in Vietnam dismantled.

Summing up the Soviet leader's utterances, the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST points to "the flexibility of Soviet foreign policy." When showing M.S. Gorbachev's speech, the ABC television company stated that he "he is seeking a way out of the key dispute with the United States on arms control. In turn, the CBS television network, including frames of the speech of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in its news bulletin, declared: "M. Gorbachev has again put the United States in a position where it is forced to say 'no' on questions of arms control."

This indicates that America lacks a long-term strategy in the sphere of disarmament and consistency in the implementation of a policy which would truly bring relief to all. M.S. Gorbachev's speech and the reaction to it have again highlighted this.

Japan [subhead]

Japanese mass media are paying much attention to the Soviet leader's concrete proposals aimed at the further strengthening of peace in the Far East. In particular the declaration of the Soviet Government's intention not to increase the number of any nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific region, the invitation to hold consultations between the main powers of the region about not building up naval forces there, and also the proposal to convene an international conference with the participation of representatives of the Soviet Union, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea on questions of a freeze on and reduction of armed forces are rated as a great international sensation. Much importance in this context is being attached to M.S. Gorbachev's declaration of the Soviet leadership's readiness to hold a meeting at summit level with the present PRC leadership. The newspapers also rate the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement about the possibility of the establishment of economic contacts between the Soviet Union and South Korea as a new departure in Soviet foreign policy.

As usual, the Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesmen have reacted instantaneously to the remarks of the Soviet leader. Judging by appearances, their hasty statements for the press are designed to forewarn all commentators and to foist their own departmental interpretations on public opinion. You can feel that the clear-cut peace-loving thrust of the Soviet leader's speech has put Japanese diplomats, of whom quite a few hold anti-Soviet views, into a difficult position. On the one hand, satisfaction is being expressed in the statements of the Japanese Foreign Ministry leaders with the Soviet Union's intention to improve relations with Japan, and on the other hand, there is evidence of the old stubborn desire to artificially link the further development of relations between Japan and the Soviet Union with unfounded territorial claims against our country. The selfsame foreign ministry comment also expresses disagreement with the critical assessment made by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary of the present Japanese Government's foreign policy course aimed at the further buildup of its armaments. At the same time, however, no cogent arguments are adduced, capable of justifying this knowingly wrong course in the eyes of the peace-loving public.

Different, much more positive and favorable assessments are made of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's speech by representatives of the broad strata of the peace-loving Japanese public.

The leadership of the Democratic Socialist Party has also reacted positively to M.S. Gorbachev's proposals, noting the concrete Soviet approach to arms reduction in Asia.

'International Situation' on Nicaragua, Maneuvers

LD1809152888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 16 Sep 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program, presented by Konstantin Patsyuk, All-Union Radio commentator; with Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, chief editor of MILITARY-HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; commentator Andrey Ptashnikov; Sergey Pravdin [not further identified]; commentator Boris Andrianov; and commentator Stanislav Blazhenkov]

[Excerpts] [Patsyuk] Hello, dear comrades! We are beginning our program which, as always, is based on letters from listeners.

Many letters have been coming to our editorial office asking us to talk about Nicaragua's Sandinist People's Army, which has been waging a war against the contras for several years now. Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, chief editor of the MILITARY-HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, recently visited Nicaragua. He met with sailors, Air Force pilots, and infantrymen, and spent several days in a combat zone. Today, we have invited him to our microphone. But before we offer him the floor, I would like to say that Viktor Ivanovich has visited many countries: Laos, Colombia, Mongolia, Cuba, the DPRK, and Vietnam. He has been to Afghanistan three times. And here I have the following, purely rhetorical question for you: Tell me, why do people travel to other countries?

[Filatov] I believe people travel to other countries in order to get to know their own country, their own people better. Everything is learned in relation to other things. A person sees himself in the mirror of other people's opinions, and so does a country. But for that one must know these other opinions.

I shall say more: For example, in order to learn what the United States is like, it is quite unnecessary to go to that country. It would suffice to visit a country which is dependent on the United States. I visited Saigon immediately after the Americans had been kicked out of there. What was that vast city like then? A large bar, a large restaurant, a large brothel. And what sort of people were there in such a city? Naturally, there were carriers, drivers, cleaners, liquor dispensors—in a word, lackeys. But they were paid well by the Americans. Limousines were parked by the doors of many of Saigon's people, and cassette players adorned their houses. But lackeys there were.

But when the Americans are kicked out of a country, as they were from South Vietnam, the brothel is closed down, and, as they say, unemployment arrives. It is hard, and, perhaps, even impossible, for a lackey to become a worker or peasant. That is what is dangerous about the Americans in other countries: they corrupt some people and sometimes even whole nations. Cuba, for one, went through that in its time. That is the present state of many countries of Asia and Latin America.

[Patsyuk] And what is the connection between that and Nicaragua, which you recently visited?

[Filatov] A direct connection. The American henchman Somoza was kicked out of Nicaragua many years ago, but the country has not recovered yet from the horrible time when the Americans ordered people around there. I have been everywhere in the country, and everywhere I saw miserable shacks made of tin and plywood in which the only features were a hammock and children. I went into those shacks, finding invariably that they were built by U.S. imperialism, by its boundless desire to rob the weak. There was really nothing else but a hammock and children! How can people live in that way? It seems that it is possible, provided there is something called hope in the shack. Each hut in Nicaragua is full of hope. Naturally, hope for a better life, otherwise you would not stay in that hut even for a day.

[Patsyuk] You're a military man, Viktor Ivanovich. You were most of all interested in the Sandinist People's Army.

[Filatov] You could put it like this, that my whole trip was spent in the units of the Sandinist Army.

[Patsyuk] And what is the Sandinist Army like?

[Filatov] Generally, bootless and poorly dressed, and armed in general for the moment with submachine guns. There are a few helicopters, a few planes, but basically they only have transport planes. The entire Navy consists, it seems, of 3-4 cutters which came out of the Ark. We took photographs of the sailors. The entire personnel of the naval forces of Nicaragua fitted onto one photograph. That is the whole guard for the Atlantic and Pacific coastline. Yet the Americans class Nicaragua as dangerous to their national interests, to their national security.

[Patsyuk] Who serves in Sandinist People's Army?

[Filatov] The lads are from 18 to 20 years old. There is a legal requirement for military service in the country. The period of service is 12 years. There are many political parties in the country, but in the Army there is only one, the Sandinist Party. The right wing in the country carries on a furious struggle against the article of the constitution, that requires universal military service. They even offer money to finance a professional army.

[Patsyuk] What's the point of that?

[Filatov] In the Army, the lads undergo revolutionary schooling at the Sandinist school. After their Army service, they are already fighting soliders of the revolution, of a free republic, but for the right wing they are a knife in the heart. In Nicaragua today in general nothing, as they say, corresponds to the theoretical: The Army is Sandinist, whereas the economy is capitalist. Of course, they are contradictions but one thing smooths them over, hatred of the U.S. slave master. In the Army I met former capitalists or rather their children.

[Patsyuk] And naturally you asked, why they were there among revolutionaries.

[Filatov] And they all replied the same thing: We want the country to be free; this means that every Nicaraguan will be free. I do not know what unites them. Perhaps it's the fear of being under the heel of the Americans again or perhaps the happiness that comes with freedom.

[Patsyuk] At the beginning of our discussion, you said that one travels abroad to know one's own country better. What can you say in that connection as far as your visit to Nicaragua is concerned?

[Filatov] Today we say that restructuring will move forward if we return to to Lenin, to those years, his deeds and thoughts. For example, we are now trying to make such words as revolution, patriotism, and loyalty to the communist ideal, shine again.

In Nicaragua, this isn't just words and concepts but life itself, an everyday affair. Probably when Somosa was in power, someone ate better. Someone had a car and a color television. Now he has none of it and doesn't know when he will, but he is happy because he is no longer a lackey. A man always knows when he is a lackey. His wife knows it, his children know it. In the sixth military region, where former Somosa supporters, those U.S. hirelings, are particularly viciously active and where operations against them are constantly being carried out, I saw soldiers who knew for sure they would die defending the revolution, and because of that do not marry or raise families. Near a large bridge, on the strategic road from Managua to the Atlantic coast, the road of life as they call it there, I talked to a Nicaraguan who had four children. He was coming for the fourth time to guard this bridge, voluntarily, for a period of 3 months. In the Nicaraguan capital he has his own business, but he has sold his car and his television and for 3-month periods guards the bridge. This is what is called the thirst for freedom and devotion to the revolution. Someone else is listening to me today with a wry smile on his face. He says: Come on then, come on then, talk, talk. There are quite a few people like that today. And you ask what I found out about my country in revolutionary Nicaragua.

[Patsyuk] Aren't you laying it on a bit thick, Victor Ivanovich?

[Filatov] No, I'm not. There are barricades in every revolution. In our restructuring there are, too. We need to know exactly who is on which side. The Nicaraguans say that it is better to live standing up than on your knees—if you have kneel, it is only to take aim. In Nicaragua, I saw people who in our country you only see today in old films: the communist, the chairman—the story of real man. In Nicaragua I saw such people not on the screen but in real life. That's why I went abroad.

[Patsyuk] Comrade Smolskiy in Minsk asks what were the reasons for the break in relations in 1948 between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The resolution of the Informburo of communist and workers' parties was published on 29 June, 1948. People of the older generation say that this resolution was unexpected for many of them.

What did it contain? Sharp criticism of the political line of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY], both in its internal and foreign affairs policies. In particular it was asserted that the Yugoslav leadership was pursuing a policy which was unfriendly toward the Soviet Union and the All-Union Communist Party, an incorrect policy with regard to the peasants, in particular the kulaks. It was said that capitalist elements were on the increase in Yugoslavia. This was the essence of the Informburo resolution. In it there was a call, and I quote: to the healthy elements of the CPY to force its leadership to return to the correct course or to correct the leadership.

These accusations are groundless, totally without foundation. The Yugoslav Communists were pursuing then, as now, a policy of strengthening friendly relations with our country. It was born in the joint struggle against fascism. Interstate relations were determined by the treaty on friendship, mutual assistance, and postwar cooperation between the two countries. Economic links were close too. Yugoslav public figures did not indulge in anti-Soviet criticism or criticism of the Bolsheviks, did not make the kind of declarations that were attribued to them, to the effect that the All-Union Communist Party was becoming degenerate, that the USSR was trying by economic means to enslave Yugoslavia. There was nothing of that kind.

As far as internal policies were concerned, in Yugoslavia at the end of the war and in the first years after the war, a thoroughly radical collectivization of the means of production, of finance, and so on took place. Agrarian reform was implemented, setting very well-defined limits to the growth of capitalist relations in the countryside.

I repeat, the accusations directed at the Yugoslav leadership were invented. The rigid authoritarian tone of the resolution was unacceptable. Subsequent resolution as were even more harsh.

As Soviet historians write, one may suppose that certain differences of opinion in the evaluation of various questions existed between the Informburo and the CPY. However, they might have become a subject for debate in the course of discussions. Instead of this, there were peremptory condemnations and directives. The efforts to treat all the countries of people's democracy which had arisen as a result of the defeat of fascism, in the same way as the Soviet Union, clearly played its part. The only country which at that time had experience of building socialism, was our country. That meant, as the false conclusion was drawn, everything that it said was a statement of absolute truth.

The fact was that letters from the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, signed by Stalin and Molotov and sent to the CPY leadership, preceded this information resolution. The main theses of these letters were laid as a basis for this resolution. In fact, this constituted interference in the internal affairs of a fraternal party, disregard for variation in the process of building a new society. The tone, which became firmly established in our country in the years of Stalin's personality cult, was carried over in fact into the international sphere, the sphere of mutual relations between parties. That time has long past during which relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were frozen for a number of years.

However, the lessons of the past must not be forgotten, just as one must not forget the warning given by Vladimir Ilich Lenin that special care is needed in attitudes to the national feelings of peoples, who were few in number and previously oppressed. Relations with them may only be built on the basis of equal rights and respect.

Listener Akhmedov, from the village of Tsushar, Kuriskiy Rayon, Dagestan ASSR, asks whether collections of the speeches of leaders of the major capitalist states, particularly the United States, are published in our country and whether the full text of these speeches are printed in the Soviet press. If yes, then where? I am asking my colleague, commentator Andrey Ptashnikov, to answer this question. He worked in the United States for a number of years as the correspondent of Soviet state radio and television. So he can compare to what extent the speeches of our leaders are covered in the West and those of the Western leaders here.

[Ptashnikov] Before drawing comparisons, I will first answer the question put in Comrade Akmedov's letter. The full texts of the speeches of the leaders of the major capitalist countries, and also of other states in the world, are published in the USSR in special editions, intended in general for specialists. They are not, as a rule, published in our periodicals. You must agree that that would be practically impossible, or at least very difficult. First of all because of their abundance, and secondly because of the relatively limited amount of space in our press organs. Moreover, far from all such speeches merit being given a whole page in a newspaper or magazine. Not because they are in any way secret or because it is not appropriate for the Soviet audience to know about the facts or events given in them. Of course there is nothing at all secret in these speeches and especially in recent years no one is trying to hide anything from Soviet readers and listeners. Quite simply, these speeches are very often concerned with purely internal problems, specific to the country in question. However, our mass media try to discuss even these in more detail, were possible.

As far as program speeches or other speeches of foreign leaders, including those of the President of the United States, in which topical questions both in the internal situation of the particular country and in the international situation are touched upon, in particular relations with the Soviet Union, then speeches of this kind are not only set out in detail in our press, on television, and radio, and excerpts from them are published, but they are also usually accompanied by commentaries by specialists. They are always given attention. I think, Comrade Akhmedov, that you will agree with this.

Moreover, quite frequently so-called political portraits of foreign leaders and of other prominent figures have begun to be published in our press. These are accounts not only of their politics and attitudes, but also about their hobbies and family situation. Biographical details are given. An approximately similar phenomenon can be observed in the mass media of capitalist countries, at any rate recently, in particular in the United States. The practice of staying silent about everything positive in our country's past and present and about its peaceable efforts on the international scene and the over-emphasis on exclusively negative facts and phenomena is gradually becoming a thing of the past. As in our country, the U.S. press, television, and radio published and put out summaries of statements by, for instance, Comrade Gorbachev, with excerpts from his speeches, and they are also, as a rule, accompanied by commentaries from experts. As for the content of these commentaries, that is another matter.

I would also like to note the following not unimportant point. Accounts of statements by Comrade Gorbachev, at any rate the beginning of them, are now carried by the central U.S. newspapers—as a rule on the front page—and these dailies frequently have up to 100 pages. Thus, if you carry a report somewhere in the middle, the reader will simply not notice it, he will not find it. Mind you, this device is used quite widely in the United States when the intention is not to draw particular attention to something. This applied fully to news about the Soviet Union until only recently. And at the same time, people can't really have any complaints—the material was published, after all. But I repeat, the attitude of the U.S.

news media to Comrade Gorbachev's statements, and to our country in general, has changed lately. This is mainly because of the enormous interest on the part of Americans in the changes taking place in the USSR. Nevertheless, regrettably, there is still quite enough disinformation. [passage omitted]

[Patsyuk] Vladimir Romanovich Dyatev from Mogilev Oblast asks the program's makers to give their view of this year's NATO fall maneuvers in Western Europe. He asks how they differ from previous ones.

Why is the progressive public anxious and concerned about them? It seems to me above all that it is because these are the biggest maneuvers ever mounted in Western Europe by the North Atlantic bloc in terms of their scale and the number of military personnel and equipment taking part in them. [passage omitted]

Overall, around 20 exercises are planned. United States and NATO generals and admirals have clearly got carried away with these rather dangerous games. You could object, Vladimir Romanovich, and tell us that our country and the other socialist countries also carry out military exercises. Yes, that is so. But the difference is that they are much more modest in scale. The Soviet Union and its allies demonstrate great restraint in carrying out their exercises. Moreover, their exercises practice the defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Pact, something that, trying as one might, one cannot say of NATO maneuvers. The distinct thrust of the latter, their offensive nature, can be sensed.

When you read reports of the scope of NATO's war games, you get the impression that nothing or precious little has changed in the world. But that is not the case. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range missiles is being implemented, these missiles are being destroyed, and talks are unfolding on further reductions of armaments. Thus, these maneuvers, whether the organizers of them want it or not, do nothing to promote detente and the establishment of trust between West and East. [passage omitted]

On 17 September the 24th Summer Olympic Games will open in the South Korean city of Seoul. This world sports forum is arousing great interest among listeners to our program. In particular, their letters ask whether one can hope that these Olympics will play their part in normalizing the situation on the Korean Peninsula. I shall ask my colleague, commentator Boris Andrianov, to reply to this question:

[Andrianov] There is no doubt that any Olympics are a noteworthy sporting event of a world scale: It can be termed a great festival in the sporting world. [passage omitted] The aims and goals of the Olympic Games are formulated precisely in the Olympic Charter, which says that these sporting events should serve to strengthen peace, friendship and mutual understanding among peoples. In other words, they must play their part in improving the international situation and must promote the beneficial process of the normalization of the situation on the world scene in the vitally important interests of all humanity.

In past times, when the Olympics were just beginning, even bloody wars were suspended. I recall this not without reason. The point is that on exactly 17 September the United States is to start maneuvers of its naval forces off the shores of South Korea. These exercises are to end on 2 October, the very day when the Olympic flame in Seoul will be extinguished. It turns out that Washington has timed its latest demonstration of military strength in the Far Eastern region to coincide with the 24th Summer Olympics. In addition to this coincidence, which is not, of course, accidental, one must also note the large scale of the maneuvers which are about to begin. [passage omitted]

Why has a scenario for such an awesome militarist spectacle been drawn up? Washington is alleging in all seriousness that it is because of the need to ensure the security of the Seoul Olympics. And in order to give this pretext at least some sort of semblance of plausibility, demagogic conjectures have been put into propaganda circulation across the Atlantic concerning some kind of North Korean plans to mount an armed attack to wreck the Summer Olympics.

This ill-intentioned fabrication has been obligingly taken up by the authorities in the Seoul regime. Things reached such a point that the South Korean defense minister announced emergency measures adopted by the armed forces to repel an attack from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. You can't, as they say, go much further.

Washington's intention to escort the Seoul Olympics, as it were, with a U.S. militarist convoy has the appearance of a deliberate crude provocation against the socialist state in the north of the Korean Peninsula. That is the first point.

Second, the whole venture has been dictated by a desire to maintain tension in the region with the aim of stepping up the U.S. military presence there. So, whichever way you look at these schemes, they cannot be regarded as anything short of an outrage against the ideals of peace and the Olympic movement.

United States & Canada

U.S. Reaction to Gorbachev 'Not Encouraging'

LD1709215288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Excerpts] The new Soviet initiatives put forward in the speech by Comrade Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk are being widely published and commented on in the United States. Vladimir Gerasichev, our correspondent in New York, reports:

[Gerasichev] [Passage omitted] How has Washington responded to the proposal, the essence of which has been grasped so quickly by the U.S. press? The White House reaction—let us not beat around the bush—has not been very encouraging so far. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said that the United States would stick to its demands that the Krasnoyarsk complex be dismantled. Journalists wanted to know whether the present administration would make any decision on the initiative, or whether it would leave it for the new cabinet to discuss. I think any changes in our current position are unlikely, said the White House spokesman. [passage omitted]

The White House reaction to Comrade Gorbachev's proposal to eliminate naval bases in the Asia-Pacific region has also been cool so far. Washington asserts that its huge naval bases in the Philippines are essential for it to defend its interests in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Gorbachev Greets USSR-U.S. Public Forum

LD1809182788 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sent a message of greetings to the participants in the 4th meeting of Soviet and American public opening in Tbilisi today:

"I am greeting the participants in the 4th meeting of Soviet and American public opening in the city of Tbilisi.

"The activity and efforts of the public are assuming exceptional importance in the process of improvement of relations between the two countries in which major steps have already been taken.

"The calm comparison of the points of view, better understanding of not only national but also common interests and the overcoming of old stereotypes—all this is very important. I think that meetings on urgent issues of Soviet-American and international relations which are held on the initiative of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries and the Chautauqua Institute in the United States are serving this goal well.

"Today we see as clear as never before that a hard road towards ridding ourselves from the apparitions of fear and hostility unworthy of our two great nations is lying ahead. The results achieved at four Soviet-American summits make us more confident that the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States can be healthy, fruitful and predictable. Proceeding from the conviction that the Soviet-American dialogue should go on without pauses and let-ups, we favour its active continuation. Your meeting provides a good example of people's diplomacy which is tirelessly acting for the sake of peace for today, tomorrow and all times.

"I sincerely wish fruitful work to your forum."

Reagan Greets Forum

LD1809200288 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Tbilisi September 18 TASS—TASS special correspondents Yuriy Goldman, Mikhail Svetlichny and Fedor Smirnov report:

The state flags of the Soviet Union, the United States and the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic linked in the form of flower petals became an emblem of the fourth meeting of representatives of the Soviet and American public that opened in Tbilisi today. The forum was co-sponsored by the Chautauqua Institution and the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies.

The fact that the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan sent greetings to the participants in the forum is evidence of the important mission of the people's diplomacy in promoting trust and mutual understanding between the two great powers.

"Proceeding from the conviction that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue should go without pauses and let-ups, we favour its active continuation", says a message of greetings by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was read out by Dzhumber Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, in the hall of the Georgian state philarmonic society where 500 Soviet and American delegates and also numerous residents of the Georgian capital came.

The greetings by Gorbachev note furthermore that "your meeting provides a good example of the people's diplomacy which is tirelessly acting for the sake of peace for today, tomorrow and all times".

The letter of greetings by the U.S. President was read out at his request by Marvin Stone, deputy director of the U.S. Information Agency.

"The Chautauqua Institution and the Friendship Society have been pioneers in establishing a dialogue between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union. Since that first meeting at Chautauqua in 1985, much has happened in our relationship. General Secretary Gorbachev and I have met four times. We have signed major agreements, including a historic agreement to reduce nuclear armaments, and have expanded our exchanges in many areas. Next year, we will begin a major exchange of high school students, perhaps involving sons and daughters of some of those who pioneered these conferences."

"The Chautauqua experience plays an important role in our expanded relationship. The conferences have provided a format for Soviet and American public figures to discuss our differences as well as our similarities. They have also provided an opportunity for thousands of Soviet and American citizens to mingle together and discuss their concerns. This year I am happy to see that many Americans are staying in Georgian homes as most of the Soviet participants lived in American homes last year in New York."

"I am convinced that this type of public discourse will help us find constructive ways to resolve differences and to identify additional means of cooperation between our two countries", the letter by the President says.

In his speech Marvin Stone stressed that in his view the meetings that began three years ago helped its participants to learn to discuss even the most delicate questions in a proper manner, with respect to each other.

Valentina Tereshkova, chairman of the Soviet Friendship Society, addressed those present at the forum opening ceremony on behalf of this society. She said she believed that such meetings were an example of how people standing far apart from each other because of great differences in views are aware of the need to take a step, try to meet each other half way.

Tomorrow is the first working day of the conference at which its delegates will discuss the burning issues of Soviet-U.S. relations in round-table sessions.

Reagan Urges Granting New Aid to Contras

LD1609082488 Moscow TASS in English 0714 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 16 TASS—President Reagan again called for granting new aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

Speaking at a meeting with representatives of the Spanish-speaking mass media of the USA, held on Thursday, he deplored that the Nicaraguan contras would be penniless after September 30. According to the President, the U.S. Congress should take measures aimed at supplying contras with foodstuffs and other shipments after that date when the current fiscal year ends in the USA.

PRAVDA Cites Carlucci on PRC Talks

PM1509135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Trip to the PRC"]

[Text] New York, 14 Sep—U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci has talked about his trip to the PRC in an interview with NBC.

"The aim of my trip," he said, "was to discuss cooperation between our countries' armed forces and conduct an extensive strategic dialogue with the Chinese. During this dialogue, the question of the spread of missiles and the transfer of missile technology worldwide was discussed. The Chinese side described its policy in this sphere as sensible and responsible. They gave me a few details privately, and I am satisfied that they are conducting a responsible policy and that we need not see this as a problem. I am completely satisfied that they will not do anything that might destabilize the situation in the region."

With regard to U.S.-PRC cooperation in the sphere of military technology, Carlucci said: "We are making progress on a number of programs with the Chinese. None of them goes beyond the framework of our conventional programs in the field of technology transfer. I can state that these programs have made a great contribution to strengthening ties between our country's armed forces, which are an integral part of our relations with China as a whole. In the strategic sphere I discovered a number of areas where our interests coincide. We now have a very good dialogue with the Chinese."

The U.S. defense secretary reported that an "agreement in principle on using Chinese missiles to launch U.S. satellites" was reached during his visit to Beijing. "The President has already decided to inform Congress that we will allow the Chinese to launch three satellites," Carlucci pointed out.

Bovin Assesses Bush, Dukakis Chances

PM1609145588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin: "Candidates' Chances"]

[Text] Figures from the many polls taken in the United States show that the chances of G. Bush and M. Dukakis are approximately equal. That is why even a small advantage for one of the candidates could play a decisive role.

G. Bush [subhead]

Bush has a considerable asset working for him—the changes accumulated by R. Reagan which many Americans see as positive. Above all, these apply to the economy.

The United States is experiencing its longest period of economic growth in the 20th century. It has continued for 70 months now. Labor productivity growth rates have increased, as has the "average" American's real income. An intensive restructuring of the economy is under way; it is being adapted to the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution; the proportion of high-tech production facilities is increasing; the importance of computer technology is changing abruptly and qualitatively.

Inflation and unemployment—the two most painful problems for Americans—have lost their destabilizing acuteness. When Reagan arrived in the White House inflation stood at 13.5 percent, and the current figure is 4.5 percent. During this period the number of jobs has increased by 16 million and the unemployment rate has fallen (according to official figures) to 5.6 percent. As a result, the so-called "poverty index" (the inflation and unemployment rates added together) has fallen from 17.9 percent (January 1981) to 9.4 percent. Reagan is the first president in U.S. history to leave office with lower inflation and unemployment rates than when he took office.

Among R. Reagan's political legacies, Bush, naturally, is vigorously exploiting the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, the start of actual reductions in nuclear missile potentials, and the incipient prospects for further progress down that road. At the same time, the Republican presidential hopeful is actively relying on the same gung-ho sentiments and shifts in public awareness (the surmounting of the "Vietnam syndrome," for instance) linked to Reagan's emphasis on strong-arm policies and the assertion of the United States' "greatness" and "exclusivity" in world politics. Those Americans who applauded the assault on Grenada and the bombing of Libya will undoubtedly vote for Bush.

Psychologically, the image of R. Reagan, the most popular U.S. president since F. Roosevelt, is working for the Republican candidate—despite all the differences in their personalities.

Finally, organizational and financial considerations are playing their part. Bush has behind him the White House, a well-oiled administrative machine with capabilities that are by no means ordinary—particularly with "all other things being equal"—to influence circumstances. Bush clearly has behind him a large number of corporations, big enterprises, and financiers. And money, as they say in America, is the "lifeblood of politics."

In general, under Reagan a considerable number of Americans are living better, and/or feeling more confident, and/or feeling even prouder about "America's greatness." They would have voted for Reagan again. And they will therefore vote for Bush.

Sophisticated readers have probably already noticed that the above description of affairs in the United States is very one-sided. Quite so. This is because I wanted to demonstrate precisely that "side" that gives the chance to the representative of the conservative wing of the U.S. ruling elite—the Republican Party candidate. Needless to say, there is another "side," too. Each of Bush's chances only exists in conjunction with numerous "buts," "howevers," "at the same times," and so on. This is the source of M. Dukakis' arguments; this is where his chances lie. But this is discussed below.

M. Dukakis [subhead]

M. Dukakis' chances lie primarily in the weakness of the Republicans' policy, the gaps in his rival's positions and platform.

G. Bush relies on Reagan's prestige and moves along the path beaten by him, duplicating and continuing his chief's policy. But this is also Bush's weakness: He shines with a reflected light. It is the Republican candidate's secondhand and derivative nature that gives M. Dukakis a chance, contrasting and emphasizing the relative independence of his views.

M. Dukakis also has opportunities in the political sphere proper. Many Americans—even those who stick out their chests and speak of "America the great"—are tired of Reagan's bellicose speeches, they like less and less the subordination of defense and foreign policy to the logic of the Pentagon and the interests of the military-industrial complex, and they would like to see the thread holding the Damoclean sword of nuclear war become increasingly strong. Even though G. Bush vigorously stresses the progress in Soviet-U.S. relations, his commitment to SDI and his emphatic intention to continue to modernize the strategic potential are by no means to everyone's liking. People want to live in a calm world and to look to the future with more confidence. Against this background, M. Dukakis' foreign policy platform appears more consistent, more in conformity with the demands of the time and the mood of a sizable proportion of the U.S. public.

The situation is more confused in the economic theater of campaign operations. G. Bush's arguments are simple, tangible, and easy for all to understand: fewer unemployed, slower inflation, no recession for more than 5 years. But today's prosperity is increasingly accompanied by alarm about tomorrow. "At the top of the economic curve," Yale University Professor R. Fer remarked, "people start getting nervous." But why? Because all America—one-story and multistory alike—is living on credit.

As a result of the huge military expenditures, the national debt has surpassed the realm of science fiction. The Federal Government ran up a debt of $940 billion between 1789 and 1980, but R. Reagan has raised this figure to $2.5 trillion. The federal (internal) debt is now more than half the gross national product. From being the world's largest creditor, the United States has become its largest debtor: At the end of last year, the U.S. foreign debt stood at $421 billion. The debt is still rising. Each years ends with a huge trade deficit. In U.S. economists' opinion, all this renders the economic situation shaky, unsteady, and fraught with unexpected shocks.

Another consequence of Reaganomics is the growing gap between rich and poor. During the current presidency the proportion of the national income represented by the poorest 20 percent of families has fallen from 5 percent to 4.6 percent, while the share of the richest families increased from 15.4 percent to 17 percent. Insofar as these facts are realized and have an effect on political behavior, they reinforce the positions of the Democratic Party's candidate.

Since presidential elections are also a television show, a telegenic appearance and the ability to behave, speak, and display oneself become political factors. Dukakis evidently stands a better chance here. "He reminds me of my first husband," an American woman said about G. Bush. Dukakis does not arouse similar associations. His "charm factor" is clearly higher. His "intellectual factor" is evidently also higher. But in America this undoubted plus can turn into a minus....

U.S. Election Dominating Media Coverage

LD1709211888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1655 GMT 17 Sep 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Igor Sugurchev]

[Text] [Sugurchev] A few days ago the United States, following our country, started on the practical implementation of the historical Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The first Pershings have been destroyed, and their removal from the territory of the FRG has begun. This inspires hope that both countries will proceed honestly and consistently down the path of implementing their agreements, which opened up the prospects for a nuclear-free world. It must be admitted, however, that in government circles across the Atlantic and in the West as a whole, they are not very inclined to consider the INF Treaty as a first step toward a world without nuclear arms. Let us continue our discussion of this theme with Vladimir Zvyagin, our correspondent in New York. Vladimir, what are people writing and saying in the United States about the country's joining in the practical implementation of the treaty?

[Zvyagin] On the day the operation at the Longhorn test site in Texas was carried out to destroy the Pershing intermediate-range missiles, the U.S. media publicized the event enthusiastically—in short, with a touch of advertising, in the spirit of the election campaign, which is so popular in the United States today. This is nothing to be surprised at. U.S. Vice President George Bush, the Republican presidential candidate in the November elections, arrived at the Texas test site during his election tour of the southern states of the United States. The loud fanfare about the United States starting to fulfill the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty didn't last long, however. The very next day there was not a word to be found in the papers about it. The treaty is one thing, but the fight for the chair in the White House Oval Office now takes precedence over everything in the U.S. media.

[Sugurchev] I see, Vladimir. The election campaign overshadows everything. What problems are coming to the fore in the election campaign between Bush and the Democrat, Michael Dukakis?

[Zvyagin] The United States, which in the past few years has turned from the biggest state creditor into the biggest debtor, with a colossal trade and budget deficit, now has to look for ways to cut state spending, and the most realistic way to do this lies in cutting the nonproductive spending on the needs of the Pentagon. It is those questions that are heading the agenda in the discussions of the two candidates.

[Sugurchev] Which approach is prevailing? Are there any chances that the trend toward cutting the huge military spending will win?

[Zvyagin] A lot depends on the position of the U.S. Congresss, where the entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate has to stand for election in November. One should scarcely underestimate the pressure by conservative forces on members and candidates to Congress, or on Dukakis, of course, or Bush. Accusations are being launched from the right against so-called spineless liberals of [word indistinct] the interests of U.S. national security and flirting with the Soviets. The stereotypes and myths from the cold war days which still dominate in the United States, though (?to a lesser extent), like blinders, prevent many Americans from looking soberly and realistically at the situation in the world. Although many of them support in words the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations, and in the political climate in the world as a whole, there is still a long way to go before there is a real breakthrough in U.S. public awareness.

[Sugurchev] What else is worrying U.S. voters?

[Zvyagin] The economic, environmental, and social problems of the country are the most important issues for the ordinary American, and all the candidates for elected posts in Washington and locally are taking this into account.

Peace Marchers Demonstrate in Red Square

PM1609125988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by TASS correspondent M. Knyazkov especially for IZVESTIYA: "About a Demonstration in Red Square"]

[Text] Wednesday's [14 September] visit to the capital by participants in the Soviet-U.S. "peace march," who had covered the Odessa-Kiev section of the route, was marked by a wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall and a peaceful but... unauthorized demonstration in Red Square.

The wreath-laying ceremony was emotional and solemn. Gray-haired veterans and young people alike bowed their heads before the granite monument.

As for the demonstration, it cannot be said that it was unexpected. The Americans who have come to our country, despite belonging to the peace movement, are people with different political beliefs. Some of them proved to be rather radically inclined. Having learned of the nuclear test planned to take place in the USSR on 14 September within the framework of the joint Soviet-U.S. explosion verification experiment, some 10 days ago they called for a protest action to be organized on this day in Red Square, no less!

Of course, this suggestion encountered incomprehension not only among Soviet but also a sizable proportion of U.S. participants in the march, who repeatedly stressed that the Soviet Union not only adhered to a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions for 18 months, but is also prepared to terminate them as soon as the United States does the same. But a mutually acceptable compromise was successfully worked out toward the end of the march as a result of stormy joint meetings, one-on-one conversations, and sessions by a specially formed working group. It provided that peace supporters from the USSR and the United States, after laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, would organize a dance on 50-Letiya Oktyabrya Square, during which they would protest against the nuclear arms race.

The initial development of events followed the scenario agreed upon by both sides. A joint statement adopted in advance was read to journalists during the dance on 50-Letiya Oktyabrya Square, in which Soviet and U.S. peace supporters called on their governments to continue the process of arms reduction which started with the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. They also advocated the ending of nuclear explosions by all powers which conduct them. We still know very little about each other, participants in the march pointed out. Hence, we call on governments to use some of the funds now spent on the arms race to develop cultural and other contacts between the two countries.

But events took an unexpected turn afterward. Several "informal" leaders emerged from among the U.S. delegation and led the column in the direction of Red Square (at that moment the two delegations' official leaders were giving a press conference in the building of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace).

The square was closed at the time. Starting conversations with militia representatives, however, the Americans asked to be allowed into the square. Our custodians of order displayed a genuinely diplomatic attitude. Despite the lack of permission to hold the demonstration and the fact that access to the square was closed, they agreed to make an exception for the participants in the march. Provided, of course, all flags and banners were left behind on entering the square and our guests refrained from any actions which could be perceived as a political demonstration.

The U.S. side accepted this proposal but, alas, failed to fully honor its word. The dance of peace was repeated, and a few antiwar songs were sung. The participants in the march embraced, thus demonstrating their desire to remain friends. All the same, a small banner appeared—smuggled by someone into the square—which called for an end to all nuclear explosions and was prudently placed in children's hands. This occurrence contained an element of defiance and contempt for our laws, which left a bitter aftertaste in people's hearts.

But even so the militia rose to the occasion and did nothing to exacerbate the situation. Consequently, the unauthorized demonstration in Red Square ended quietly and peacefully.

"People's desire to end their march in the main square is understandable," militia Major Yu.I. Antonov said in a conversation with me. "But we also have our laws and rules. In principle, it would have been possible to hold a proper demonstration here, with flags and banners, especially since we all share the goals and tasks of the 'peace march.' Such demonstrations have already been held in Red Square. But it is necessary to obtain permission from the organs of Soviet power beforehand. This is required by law."

U.S. Advertising Agency in Joint Enterprise

PM1609083188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[G. Alimov report: "Publicity: U.S. Experience and Our Enthusiasm"]

[Text] The Young and Rubicam Agency signed a protocol on 14 September relating to its intentions to create a joint enterprise with "Vneshtorgreklama."

Young and Rubicam is the largest independent U.S. advertising agency with a staff of 11,000 in 47 countries and a turnover of $5 billion. "Vneshtorgreklama" is the largest Soviet agency for international advertising and commercial ties. It looks as though fate itself destined them to meet sometime and to do business and make money together. This time has come. Alex Kroll, chairman and head of the Young and Rubicam Agency, stated at a press conference that "we will not strive for rapid profits and cheap success—no, we are in for long-term cooperation."

The main purpose in creating the joint enterprise is to provide commercial services and publicity to Western firms interested in the Soviet market and to Soviet enterprises interested in promoting their output in Western markets. This is becoming vitally necessary. As is well known, dozens of our enterprises have obtained the right to independently operate on foreign markets but do not have enough experience to count on success. In turn Western firms, accustomed to dealing with a dozen ministries resolving everything, are now faced with the need to know hundreds of potential partners—enterprises scattered throughout the USSR.

"We are setting ourselves the task of helping our clients get access to one another," A. Croll said.

The new joint enterprise will be owned by both advertising agencies and will be managed by a board of directors consisting of equal numbers of representatives from both sides. Under the existing legislation—which may be changed—"Vneshtorgreklama" owns 51 percent and Young and Rubicam 49 percent.

"We are not yet counting on making a fast ruble or a fast buck," Yu. Deomidov, general director of the "Vneshtorgreklama" All-Union Association, said. "But we are sure that our business will be up-and-coming in 2-3 years. Our enterprise can provide a full range of services for entrepreneurs and business circles."

"We are open to everyone. That is our advantage now," the representatives of the future joint enterprise love to reiterate. In accordance with the preliminary agreement, Young and Rubicam is sending its most experienced representatives to work in Moscow. The new organization will start up by 1 January 1989. What will publicity Soviet-U.S. style be like?

Gorbachev Greets Visitors to Exhibition in U.S.

LD1809204388 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sent the following greeting to the visitors of a Soviet book exhibition in the United States:

"I am genuinely happy to have an opportunity to greet the visitors to a Soviet book exhibition in the United States.

"This display and a similar American book exposition opening simultaneously in the Soviet Union show that the Soviet-American dialogue is developing in most various fields. It confirms the need and possibility to act in the spirit of new political thinking based on the recognition of the priority of values common to all humanity.

"In our age of satellite communication, computer information, radio and television the book is preserving the force of its influence on the minds and feelings of people and plays an important role in mutual contacts among nations. It helps a person to make the moral choice, take a new look at oneself and the surrounding world and contribute to the consolidation of humanistic ideas.

"The exhibition will be of great help to those who want to understand the nature of the current changes in the Soviet Union. I am sure that it will make for mutual understanding and rapprochement of our two peoples."

Soviet-Canadian Commission Ends Talks

LD1709015988 Moscow TASS in English 2228 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—The Soviet-Canadian commission on economic, industrial, scientific and technical cooperation has ended its seventh session in Moscow. The sides have reached an agreement on a number of important commercial and political issues and outlined practical steps further to develop trade and economic relations, Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, told TASS. He was head of the Soviet delegation at the talks.

The current session considered ways of removing barriers hampering the development of Soviet-Canadian trade. One of the main problems is how to level out the disbalance of bilateral trade. At present the ratio between Soviet exports to Canada and imports from this country is 1 to 10. The volume of bilateral trade also went down and amounted to some 500 million rubles in 1987, or 22 per cent less than in 1986. The Soviet side sees solution to these problems, primarily, in extending supplies of Soviet goods and technologies to the Canadian market, in using more complex forms of economic cooperation, including co-production and joint venture schemes.

There are examples of such deals with Canadian firms. A contract was signed with the Canadian firm Foremost on co-production of the heavy-duty caterpillar cross-country vehicles Yamal. Agreements were signed on creating joint ventures in the field of the automotive industry and public catering.

Bessmertnykh Receives Canadian

PM1509131588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 12 September, A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister, received J. Roy, Canadian deputy minister of external affairs, who is heading the Canadian delegation to the seventh session of the Soviet-Canadian joint commission on economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation, which is being held in Moscow. Some questions of Soviet-Canadian relations were discussed from the viewpoint of the need to postively develop contacts and cooperation between the two countries in various spheres.

V.G. Turner, Canadian ambassador to the USSR, attended the conversation.

Supreme Court Delegation Arrives in Canada

LD1609180188 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Ottawa September 15 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Court, led by its chairman V.I. Terebilov, has arrived in Ottawa at the invitation of Canada's Supreme Court.

The Soviet delegation will familiarize themselves with the Canadian system of courts, the structure and activity of the country's Supreme Court and meet with their Canadian colleagues.

China

Gorbachev Krasnoyarsk Remarks on Summit Viewed

OW1709094488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] The Soviet Union stands for a complete normalization of its relations with China and for the development of these relations to a level where the two countries will undertake equal responsibility for peaceful world policies. This was stated by Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in a speech in Krasnoyarsk, an administrative center in eastern Siberia.

The Soviet leader proposed that preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting commence immediately. He said: The Soviet Union and China have more and more common ground during the powerful renewal processes of these two large socialist countries. More goodwill and trust have been expressed between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. The deep interest they feel for each other has been revived and is taking new directions. Their mutual attraction is growing.

Gorbachev stated: The recent work meeting held in Beijing by the two countries on the settlement of the Cambodia issue has to a certain extent expanded mutual understanding on this issue and has also served to improve Soviet-Chinese relations.

The Soviet leader put forward a series of proposals aimed at strengthening international security. He stressed: It is of great importance to strengthen the security of the Asian-Pacific and the Indian Ocean regions. To this end, the Soviet Union will refrain from adding any nuclear weapons in these regions, as it has been doing for some time.

Gorbachev asserted: We call on the United States and other nuclear countries not to increase nuclear weapons here. If the United States eliminates its military bases in the Philippines, the Soviet Union will be prepared, in agreement with Vietnam, to give up the naval material and technical support point at Cam Ranh Bay.

Other proposals involved naval powers in the Asian-Pacific region not increasing their naval forces here and an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a peaceful zone, to be held no later than 1990. The Soviet Union also proposed that meetings be held at any level to discuss the creation of a negotiating mechanism to consider the proposals made by the Soviet Union and other countries regarding the security of the Asian-Pacific region. This question may be discussed first by the Soviet Union, China, and the United States as permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Gorbachev returned to Moscow the night of 16 September.

Moscow TV on Economic Links With PRC

LD1709174688 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0940 GMT on 17 September carries a 20-minute program entitled "In Socialist Countries," presented by political observer Valeriy Korzin.

In the program Korzin presents a 13-minute feature on the PRC. The feature begins with a video report by Vladimir Kulikov, which focuses on the functioning of trade and services to the people of Beijing. He notes that the centralized system there has been dropped in the current economic reform; prices are regulated by the market and there are now no goods in short supply. This is illustrated by a visit to a department store in Beijing, where attention is given to the high standard of service and the wide selection of goods available. There are no lines in China, observes Kulikov.

Korzin notes that the absence of lines can be ascribed to Chinese traditions. However, this absence can also be explained by very high prices that are a consequence of the free market. As the prices are continually rising, the real value of wages is being reduced. Thus, notes Korzin, while on the one hand the prereform freeze on prices clearly did not justify itself, the present situation on the other hand cannot but cause concern.

The video shows bustling streets of Beijing and the good selection of goods on offer in a store.

The feature then moves to a conversation between Korzin and Aleksey Borisovich Shmelev, deputy chief of the main directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, on the topic of developing trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC. Shmelev says that the contacts between the provinces and towns of the Soviet Union and the PRC have been developing actively. He adds: "Virtually in the nearest time, by the end of the current year, we expect a delegation of such a major Chinese city as Shanghai to arrive here to establish contacts with the towns of the Russian Federation, particularly with Leningrad, and to hold talks on direct contacts. This is a new form of contact, but you know that our basic, centralized direction—meaning the implementation of foreign trade operations—has a rather long history, too. Over the last 7 years the trade turnover between our countries has practically increased by a factor of 10. The first long-range trade agreement, signed in 1985, imparts a new impulse to the development of our trade relations. By the end of this 5-year plan we estimate our trade turnover at R12 billion, and on fulfillment of our obligations by the end of the year we expect a growth in trade turnover of something on the order of 25 percent by comparison with last year. This year, if one is to speak about Chinese exports to our country, our buyers will be able to see in the shops such new goods as enameled and stainless steel dishes, office and sporting goods, leather gloves, and canvas shoes. Apart from this the list of ready made and knitted garments and garments made from furs will be considerably widened."

On Chinese imports, Shmelev notes that the Chinese are interested in purchasing Soviet equipment. He says: "You know that from our exports list machinery and equipment amount to something on the order of 50 percent of the entire export this year."

Korzin then states: "At the time when our relations with China started to develop, much was said in many countries around the world about the Chinese being very interested in modernizing those enterprises that we built for them then. Evidently, in the exports for China, among this equipment also will be equipment for these enterprises."

Shmelov responds: "Quite so. A number of enterprises built in the fifties in China are now being renewed under an agreement with the Chinese foreign economic organizations. In our country, contracts are being signed on the supply of one or another technological equipment for the renewal of these enterprises. You know that our exports to China also consist of such machinery and equipment as aircraft technology of the most varied kind—aircraft, helicopters, aviation, and airport equipment."

Korzin asks: "Will China be buying our airplanes?" Shmelov answers, "of course," and then continues to list other items, such as trucks and cars, road construction equipment, hoisting and transport equipment, and other kinds of machinery and equipment to be part of Chinese imports.

Korzin then asks about direct contacts and joint enterprises. Shmelev notes that at the moment the setting up of two joint enterprises is being studied: on Soviet territory for thermos production and on PRC territory for cellulose production. He continues: "These will be sizeable enterprises with modern equipment."

Korzin and Shmelev then discuss the setting up of Chinese restaurants in the USSR. Shmelev points out that in this respect, "we can only speak about stepping up the work of the joint enterprise, the Beijing restaurant in Moscow." However, he notes, as far as purchasing foodstuffs in China for a wide network of shops is concerned, this has not as yet been implemented by us.

Korzin then asks Shmelev about border trade with the PRC. Shmelev answers that border trade has also received a strong impetus in recent years. "In 6 years it has grown 10 times and amounts in the current year to something on the order of R60 million." Involved are such regions of the Soviet Union as Kemerovo and Irkutsk Oblasts, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and Kazakhstan. They are mainly conducting border trade with the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region of China.

Korzin concludes the discussion by asking Shmelev about the prospects for Soviet-Chinese trade and economic relations. Shmelev answers: "We consider our trade and economic relations with the PRC to enjoy great opportunities for development. In many respects, this depends both on the Soviet organizations involved in foreign economic activity and the Chinese organizations. Nonetheless, the annual talks that are held between various departments and organizations provide grounds for consideration that we have great prospects."

Northeast Asia

Shevardnadze Meets Mongolian Foreign Minister

LD1709125688 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, today received Mongolian Foreign Minister Tserenpiliin Gombsuren who had made a stopover in Moscow on his way to New York.

Eduard Shevardnadze dwelt on Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk, highlighting new foreign policy initiatives aimed at the real lowering of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region, promotion of trust and further development of cooperation between the countries of the region.

Tserenpiliin Gombsuren welcomed the Soviet Union's constructive and far-reaching proposals advanced in the spirit of new political thinking. He said he was sure that the speech of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee would give a powerful impulse to the current positive processes in Asia.

The sides discussed bilateral Soviet-Mongolian relations. The ministers placed special emphasis on ways and means to raise the efficiency of economic cooperation by using new forms which would improve the situation and step up the changes in the national economies of both countries.

Having noted the need to continue co-ordinating foreign policy efforts in the international arena, Shevardnadze and Gombsuren agreed to exert additional joint efforts in advancing the ideas of the socialist and other peace-loving nations of Asia and the Pacific in order to strengthen peace and security in that part of the world.

The sides had identical views on the tasks of diplomats from socialist countries at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly opening in New York in several days.

The meeting passed in the atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

U.S. Naval Force Gathers Off Korean Peninsula

LD1909075888 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo September 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Krasnov:

This morning the U.S. attack aircraft carrier left the Sasebo naval base situated on the western coast of the southernmost Japanese island of Kyushu. After replenishing its ammunition at the Hario munitions depot, the KYODO TSUSHIN agency reports, the carrier will head for the Sea of Japan where it will join the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Nimitz which arrived there in the first half of September.

According to the U.S. Command, two aircraft carrier groups massed off the Korean peninsula will be on patrol there. They are also planned to participate in large-scale naval exercises during the Seoul Olympic Games. The aircraft carrier group whose flagship is the Nimitz, consists of the modern warship Antietam with a displacement of 9,600 tons which is equipped with a multipurpose automatic antiaircraft system called Aegis. It is expected that late in September the cruiser Bunker Hill and the destroyer Fife armed with nuclear-capable cruise missiles Tomahawk will join the large U.S. naval force massed off the Korean shores.

Korean Groups Protest

LD1909085188 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo September 19 TASS—Today over 22 various democratic organizations of South Korea issued a statement of protest against an unprecedented show of military force started by the Pentagon off the Korean peninsula. At present two aircraft carrier groups led by the aircraft carriers Nimitz and Midway carrying nuclear delivery vehicles are massed in the area of the peninsula.

According to the KYODO TSUSHIN AGENCY from Seoul, the statement also expressed a deep concern over plans declared by the Japanese Armed Forces Command to hold in the near future joint Japanese-American war games of naval and air forces in the area of the Japanese archipelago.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Military Coup Announced in Burma 18 Sep

LD1809114888 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Rangoon September 18 TASS—Burmese national radio has just announced that a military coup was staged in the country.

The power was seized by a military group headed by General Saw Maung, Burmese defence minister and chief of the Armed Forces General Staff.

Saw Maung leads the "Organization for Restoration of Law and Order in the State". A radio broadcast statement of that organization says that "military men will try in the first place overcome the difficulties and privations, that the people of the country has been encountering, and then general elections will be held".

All political parties and organizations, which support the democratic government, may start preparations for general elections, the statement says.

Upon the end of the statement, the radio started transmitting march music.

Army Group Chief Address

LD1809155688 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Rangoon September 18 TASS—Speaking on national radio this afternoon, General Saw Maung, Burmese minister for defence and chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, announced that the peace and stability restoration group led by him had taken over state authority. The group comprises 19 top military officers, among them commanders of the arms of the service, head of the military intelligence and commanders of military districts. There is not a single civilian person in the group of military men who seized power in the country.

The parliament, government and people's councils at all levels were dissolved by the decision of the group. The name of the country was also changed. It will now be called the Union of Burma instead of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, the name given to it in 1974. The third statement said that the Union of Burma would follow "an active and independent foreign policy".

The military leadership ordered an 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. curfew in the capital and other cities and a ban on all demonstrations and meetings. Gatherings of more than five people in public places and putting up barricades blocking street traffic are also prohibited.

Addressing the participants in the general strike that paralyzed the entire state apparatus and all industries of the country and has been going on for over a month now, the military authorities ordered all striking government workers to return to work on Monday. In case the order was not complied with by September 26, sanctions will be effected against the violaters to the point of a forcible return to work or dismissal.

The coup leader guaranteed the inviolability of private and cooperative property and stressed that Burma's Armed Forces took over power to ensure order and stability in the country, which were indispensable for the holding of general elections on a multi-party basis. Saw Maung said that in their activity the military would give full support to the Central Election Commission which was formed at the extraordinary session of parliament on September 11.

Following Saw Maung's radio address and defying the orders by the military authorities, residents of Rangoon flocked to city streets. They feverishly reinforce barricades and logjams on roads, letting only cars with diplomatic plates pass.

Violence Reported

LD1909083888 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Rangoon September 19 TASS—Army units opened fire on a mass demonstration of residents of the Burmese capital who gathered near Sule Pagoda in the downtown area this morning. Eyewitnesses said at least 50 people were killed and many wounded. According to reports reaching here the Armed Forces also used firearms against population in the second largest city of the country, Mandalay, and a number of other cities. The leaders of anti-government action involving millions of people throughout the country are being arrested in various parts of Burma.

Military units have occupied banks, telephone exchanges, the editorial offices of newspapers, and other public buildings in downtown Rangoon.

On Sunday the command of the Armed Forces headed by General Saw Maung, minister of defence, announced that the Army was assuming the entire power in Burma. The first practical step of the new leadership was to impose a rigid ban on gatherings of more than four people, on the holding of meetings and processions. A curfew was imposed.

In defiance of the orders of the Army command, the residents of Rangoon, Mandalaydand other cities were busy setting up barricades in the streets throughout the night. Many began to arm themselves with home-made weapons: bamboo spears, machetes. And so on.

Further on Situation

BK1909115388 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] According to news agency reports from Burma, despite a ban on all demonstrations by the military authorities, demonstrators have once again taken to the streets in Rangoon City this morning. Soldiers were reported to have opened fire on the people, and there were some casualties. Some reports say fully armed troops were this morning seen to be actively removing barricades set up on the streets of Rangoon.

The majority of the people in the capital are reported to have rejected the order by the authorities asking workers to return to work.

Yesterday afternoon, General Saw Maung announced that the State Committee for Establishment of Law and Order had taken power. The committee, made up of 19 top-ranking military officers, announced the abolition of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and different levels of councils. It also said Burma will be known as the Union of Burma instead of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. A curfew has also been imposed.

In his speech [as heard], Gen Saw Maung said the Defense Forces had seized power to halt the deteriorating economic and political situation and to create the conditions of law and order that will facilitate the holding of multiparty general elections—a demand which was made by the people holding mass demonstrations almost daily in many of the major Burmese cities over the past 1 and ½ months. Observers in Rangoon say that despite the order not to [words indistinct], there is a likelihood of confrontation between the demonstrating crowds and the patrolling soldiers.

Gen Saw Maung announced that once law and order prevail in the country, multiparty general elections will be held under the supervision of the Elections Commission formed on 11 September by the People's Assembly.

However, it is common knowledge that opposition leaders have repeatedly rejected that commission and that they are demanding the formation of an independent interim government.

Gen Saw Maung's announcement also gives assurances to protecting cooperatives and private concerns.

In accordance with the instructions of the new military authorities, all striking workers are ordered to return to work by 26 September or be sacked or be forced to work. Prolonged strikes have paralyzed almost all key economic industries in Burma, and observers are concerned that if the strikes continue, this will seriously aggravate the shortage of foodstuffs, fuel, and basic consumer goods.

Gerasimov on 'Internal Affair'

BK1609122488 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Speaking to journalists yesterday on the Soviet Union's stand on events in Burma, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said the Soviet Union views events in Burma as purely an internal affair of that country. Gerasimov stated that the Soviet Union hopes that national forces in Burma will find a peaceful solution and work toward national reconciliation.

Gorbachev Offer on Asia Bases Viewed

LD1609232588 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] As you might have heard in the news, the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has said in Krasnoyarsk that the USSR may give up its use of a naval base in Vietnam if the United States agrees to eliminate its military bases in the Philippines. What is the possibility of such an arrangement, Yuriy Minayev [not further identified]?

[Minayev] The Philippines and the United States have been negotiating since April on a revision of the terms allowing the United States to maintain two important foreign bases, Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base, in the Philippines. Despite a tougher stand by the Philippine Government it looks as if the United States is eager to continue its military presence there. True, earlier this week the American Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci warned that the United States might find alternatives to the bases if the negotiations failed. The United States is reportedly studying the possibility of moving the bases to the Mariana Islands in the Pacific. Meanwhile, President Corazaon Aquino of the Philippines has said that an American military pullout from the Philippines was a possibility if the two governments failed to agree.

I therefore think that now, after the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, the situation has become less involved for the United States and it has a way out for its months-old dispute over the Philippines bases without additional expenses and while manifesting goodwill and desire to reduce tensions.

SRV's Vo Chi Cong Pays Official Moscow Visit

Aims To Promote Ties

LD1809142888 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, is due to arrive in Moscow for an official friendly visit on Monday, September 19, at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Vo Chi Cong is devoting all his knowledge and experience to the cause of socialist development in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. He is engaged in extensive activities to develop and strengthen Vietnam's relations with the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries. In August 1988 an Order of the October Revolution was conferred upon him for his active participation in the revolutionary movement, intense and fruitful activities in strengthening all-round cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The Soviet people cordially welcome Vo Chi Cong's official friendly visit to the USSR and express confidence that the visit will promote further development of the fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Arrives 19 Sep

LD1909081688 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, arrived here today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the airport he was met by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and by other officials.

Current Movement To Resolve Cambodian Issue

BK1909084788 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 18 September 88

[Station article: "Settlement of the Cambodian Problem"]

[Text] One cannot remain indifferent to aspirations for peace and national reconciliation in conformity with our generation's prevailing tendency. This was proven by a PRK delegation's recent visit to countries in Europe, Africa, and Latin America. In the highest interests of the country and nation, the Cambodian Government has implemented a national reconciliation policy that provides a substantial base for resolving Cambodia's conflict by political means. The visit by Comrade Chea Sim, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the PRK National Assembly, to the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria in his capacity as special envoy of Comrade General Secretary Heng Samrin; and the visit by Comrade Long Visalo, PRK deputy foreign minister, to Mexico, Angola, Congo, Cape Verde, and Libya, as well as visits by distinguished diplomats to other countries, contributed to perfecting Phnom Penh's policy as defined by the Cambodian Government and public, and to heightening the PRK's international prestige.

The informal meeting of Cambodian parties held near Jakarta at the end of July with the participation of representatives from Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries was in conformity with efforts made by the delegates of the Cambodian people. One highly values the plan in which the antagonistic factions met away from the battlefield for the first time to exchange views on untying the Cambodian knot on the basis of common interests. The process known as the Jakarta move has good prospects. Working groups were set up, with the participation of eminent representatives, to look into the various aspects of a solution to the Cambodian issue and come up with recommendations for the next meeting. They agreed on the third round of talks scheduled in Paris between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

Phnom Penh's significant initiative was highlighted by the fact that the settlement of the Cambodian conflict now occupies an important place in the Nonaligned Movement and last year's Soviet-U.S. and Soviet-Chinese dialogues. The issue was also included on the agenda of the 43d UN General Assembly. The socialist and nonaligned countries that the delegations visited have voiced support for the PRK's constructive measures aimed at creating conditions of peace, stability, and good-neighborliness in Southeast Asia. This means that the consensus reached in Jakarta linking the Vietnamese troop pullout from Cambodia to the prevention of the Pol Pot regime's policy of genocide and the cessation of foreign interference in Cambodia's internal affairs has created the basis for a solution to the Cambodian problem. This idea has been upheld by people in the country as well, and what is evident is that the participants in the informal meeting and the majority of countries in the world have clearly seen the foundation of a solution.

At the moment, it is important to safeguard the gains on the way to settling the Cambodian problem, and to maintain the essential principles outlined in the agreement and compromise reached in Indonesia. Along with this, and based on the achievements required, it is possible to develop the Jakarta movement. All this is directly related to the Cambodian conflict. However, other countries and organizations can play a role in resolving the issue as well.

Time and again, and even during the Moscow visits of Comrades Heng Samrin and Chea Sim, the Soviet Union has declared its intention to contribute to developing the prospects for settling the conflict in order to clean up the political mess in Asia and the Pacific.

Moscow Commentator on Son Sann Bangkok 'Appeal'

BK1509070588 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] All antagonistic Cambodian groups should have mutual understanding in order to create peace and stability in Cambodia. This is an appeal made in Bangkok by Son Sann, a leader of the antagonistic Cambodian groups.

This former prime minister has warned his dialogue partners about the danger of a civil war following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia if they do not have mutual understanding. Our commentator, Comrade Fedorov, writes:

Son Sann's statement attracts my attention. This statement is in line with that of the PRK leaders. The PRK leaders also stressed the need to reach national reconciliation and national unity as the means to help create peace and prevent a civil war.

Previously, Son Sann also tried to find his differences with Phnom Penh. In fact, Son Sann, the PRK leaders, and Samdech Sihanouk have similar views concerning another matter, that is the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. Earlier, when it was announced in Phnom Penh that all Vietnamese troops would be withdrawn from Cambodia before the end of 1990, the opposition groups shouted out loud that this was just a lie and propaganda.

Now, as is known to all comrades, Son Sann has thoroughly analyzed the events which might take place following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops.

This should not be a surprise to anybody. But, let us ask whether there is a possibility of a civil war? In Son Sann's opinion, there is a possibility of a civil war if the antagonistic Cambodian groups do not reach mutual understanding. What does mutual understanding among the patriots mean? First of all, it is mutual trust. Mutual trust will enable them to meet, without being afraid of being deceived by their partners, in order to discuss the problem of national construction.

Son Sann's statement seems to be incomplete. He knows the direction from which the danger of a civil war might come, but did not mention it. Phnom Penh has made several statements regarding this matter without concealing it. This danger might take place if the Khmer Rouge gets military aid from foreign countries following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. This is because the Pol Pot clique is the only antagonistic group which does not want to share the power. The clique wants to make use of the idea of a quadripartite government as a means to expand the influence of its own group. However, this matter should be settled within the framework of the antagonistic groups, namely the Khmer Rouge, the Son Sann group, and Samdech Sihanouk's group.

Do not forget about those who still provide arms to the Pol Pot clique to carry out its activities against the interests of the national reconciliation in Cambodia.

Soviet Chief of Staff Congratulates Pol Saroeun

BK1509140288 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1330 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union and chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, recently sent a congratulatory message to Comrade Pol Saroeun on his appointment as deputy defense minister of the PRK and chief of the General Staff of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The message reads:

I wish you the best of health, happiness, and more successes in the task of consolidating the PRK's defense capability.

Lao Leader To Visit 'End of September'

LD1609135888 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union in the end of September.

He has been invited by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

Commentary on Lao Request for Talks With Bangkok

BK1609095088 Moscow in Lao to Laos 1300 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Laos has once again reaffirmed its unswerving determination to improve its relations with the Kingdom of Thailand in the hope of solving all outstanding problems through peaceful means. The letter from the Lao Foreign Ministry says: A Lao delegation is now ready to go to Bangkok for talks to normalize the situation.

The strains in relations between Laos and Thailand can be attributed to two problems—the border tension that has existed for the past few years following the Thai side's attempt to seize three Lao hamlets, and Bangkok's trade restrictions against Laos. The border talks in May failed to produce any concrete result. At the summer meeting in Bogor, Indonesia, Laos put forward a proposal to bring about regional stability by turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality, friendship, and mutual cooperation as well as a nuclear free area. The Lao Republic has also called on all countries in the region to respect each other's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political system; refrain from aggression, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and the use of force or the threat of the use of force; and guarantee friendly and equal relations and long-term cooperation. The proposal has created the stable atmosphere conducive to efforts to normalize Lao-Thai relations.

The new leadership in the Kingdom of Thailand [words indistinct] in this regard. Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan declared when he took up his position that Thailand will seek good-neighborly relations with the Indochinese countries and turn the peninsula into a market, not a battlefield. His government is reportedly preparing to further promote trade with Laos and Vietnam at the private level. Meanwhile, the National Security Council and the Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of Thailand are now revising the list of the so-called strategic goods, the export of which to Laos is banned.

Considering these developments, Vientiane has taken another step by proposing to send its delegations for talks in the capital of the Kingdom of Thailand. It is very good that an improvement in relations between Laos and China is taking place at the same time. The two countries this year exchanged diplomats at ambassadorial level, and a foreign economic relations delegation from China is currently visiting Laos.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Prime Minister Makes Official Visit

Interviewed Prior to Departure

LD1709183488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An official visit to our country by Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq will begin in the next few days. It is not by chance that relations between our countries attract the attention of politicians from many countries. These relations are a guarantee that the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan will be successfully implemented. Right before the visit, our correspondent M. Leshchinskiy met with the Afghan prime minister.

Muhammad Hasan Sharq is well known in Afghanistan as a prominent politician. Even at the time of the Daud regime, Sharq was in charge of his office and was considered the right hand of the ruler. A few months ago, the National Council gave a vote of confidence in the coalition government that has been formed by the new prime minister. Apart from him, the cabinet consists of another 18 ministers, nonparty members who have also, as a rule, been known as prominent statesmen in the past. Muhammad Hasan Sharq believes that he has come back to active political life thanks to the policy of national reconciliation, the support of which the government has declared as its main task.

[Begin recording] [Leshchinskiy] Esteemed Mr Sharq, the visit you are about to begin to the Soviet Union is your first official trip abroad as Afghan prime minister. What is its purpose? Will it be possible to reveal even now the contents of the future talks in Moscow?

[Sharq speaking in Dari with superimposed Russian translation] Our visit to the USSR is a visit of friendship. You know that over the past 10 years our country has suffered many losses. But many Afghan refugees are returning home. In this connection, we need economic aid very much. We hope that during the visit we will manage to resolve the question of further developing economic cooperation with the USSR. Over the past few years, your country has been our most loyal assistant. It is with great satisfaction that we are seeing the Afghan and Soviet sides fully implementing the Geneva agreements. However, we also need long-term economic help to continue the policy of national reconciliation, something that is stopping the bloodshed. We are now considering such plans up to the year 2000. I hope the friendship between our countries will remain indissoluble in any political situation. [end recording]

Departs Kabul 18 Sep

LD1809085888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul, 18 Sep (TASS)—An Afghan Government delegation, led by Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq, left Kabul for Moscow today for an official visit. The delegation also includes:
—Deputy Prime Minister Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin;
—Commerce Minister Muhammad Khan Jalalar;
—Planning Minister Sultan Husayn;
—Returnees Affairs Minister 'Abdul Ghafar;
—Rehabilitation and Rural Development Minister Muhammad Asef Zaher; and other officials.

Arrives in Dushanbe

LD1809204488 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 1530 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq and his accompanying delegation arrived today in Dushanbe, the capital of the Tajik SSR, on their way to Moscow.

The BAKHTAR reporter accompanying the delegation reports that the prime minister was received at Dushanbe airport by Izatullo Khayeyev, chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers; Usman Usmanov, deputy chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs; deputies and members of the Tajik Council of Ministers; Pavel Mozhayev, special envoy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Muhammadullah Safi, Afghan ambassador to the Soviet Union; other embassy officials; Hazrat Hamgar, Afghan consular general in Tashkent; and Afghan students in the city of Dushanbe.

The BAKHTAR reporter adds that, in accordance with the tradition of the people, an elder offered the prime minister and the accompanying delegation salt and bread while some people cheered and performed local dances. Then the prime minister and the accompanying delegation moved toward their residence in an escorted motorcade. Along the way, many Dushanbe residents lined the streets and welcomed the Afghan prime minister with friendship slogans.

According to another report, the prime minister held talks with Mr Izatullo Khayeyev, chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers. The meeting was also attended by members of the prime minister's accompanying delegation, Gayrat Kadyarov, chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers; Khan Akhmedov, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen Council of Ministers [title as received]; and Pavel Mozhayev, special envoy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was asserted that the people of the Soviet Union support the legitimate struggle of the people of Afghanistan for the safeguarding of their territorial independence and the national reconciliation policy and comprehensively cooperate with the people of

Afghanistan. Similarly the Soviet side promised economic help to the northern part of the country, especially Konduz, which has been damaged by extremists.

According to another report, the prime minister visited the museum of handwritten scripts and the exhibition of the economic developments of Tajikistan. Tonight the prime minister will take part in a banquet arranged by the chairman of Tajik Council of Ministers. The Afghan prime minister and the Tajik Council of Ministers chairman will deliver speeches.

Ryzkhov Greets Prime Minister

LD1909055788 Moscow TASS in English 0544 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq of the Republic of Afghanistan arrived here today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At Vnukovo airport he was met by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, Nikolay Talyzin, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and by other officials.

Talks 'Businesslike, Friendly'

LD1909132888 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Talks opened in the Kremlin today between Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq of the Republic of Afghanistan who is staying in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is also taking part in the negotiations.

Nikolay Ryzhkov and Muhammad Hasan Sharq compared notes on pressing international issues and the situation in the region and thoroughly examined the state of, and prospects for, cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan in various fields.

It was pointed out that positive processes under way in the world, which have become possible to a considerable extent due to consistent efforts by the Soviet Union and all peace forces in a spirit of new political thinking, are making for more favorable prerequisite conditions for an end to the arms race, for disarmament and broader mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

It was stressed that it is imperataive for all the members of the world community to take an active part in these positive processes.

It was noted in the course of the talks that new approaches to creating a calmer world situation, which are based on the priority of universally shared values, show in the settlement of regional conflicts, most notably the disentangling of the Afghan knot, as well.

The sides stated that the Geneva agreements on a political settlement relating to Afghanistan have provided an important political and legal basis for bringing the situation in the region back to normal and emphasized that a successful furthering of this process is fully dependent on a conscientious and meticulous fulfilment of the accords by all the parties to them.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are acting precisely in this way. But continuing interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan from Pakistani territory is preventing an early political settlement relating to Afghanistan and complicating a peaceful resolution of domestic Afghan problems on the basis of national reconciliation, by way of compromises and talks.

In a bid to distract public attention from these violations, charges have been made against Afghanistan lately of staging bombing runs on Pakistani territory. And although it has been suggested to the Pakistani side that an extensive and impartial international investigation be launched into those "facts", a reply has not been given to this day and this eloquently speaks for itself.

As Soviet-Afghan relations were discussed, the two heads of government expressed satisfaction with the steady broadening of mutually advantageous many-sided cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and called for further consolidating and upgrading it.

It was noted that bilateral relations are acquiring new contents and more effective forms. Direct ties between republics, regions and cities in the USSR and provinces and cities in Afghanistan are growing closer and fundamental changes for the better taking place in cooperation between Soviet organizations and Afghan private entrepreneurs.

The Soviet side reaffirmed readiness to give every kind of assistance to the friendly Afghan people with rehabilitating their national economy and developing social and cultural facilities both on a bilateral footing and as part of international efforts.

The talks, held in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere and marked by complete mutual understanding, will be continued.

Afghan Defense Minister on Accords Implementation

LD1609135588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists has taken place at the USSR Foreign Ministry's Press Center. Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, offered the participants a Soviet television interview with Afghan Defense Minister Shah Nawaz Tanay:

[Begin recording] [Tanay speaking in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] Now that the Soviet troops are returning from Afghanistan to their own areas, to their homeland, the Western mass media, acting in the interests of extremists, are intensifying the anti-Afghan propaganda. In the forefront here are the leaders of extremist groups who have adopted irreconcilable stances. They state that as the Soviet troops withdraw from various Afghan provinces, they will occupy the border provinces in a matter of days. However, the extremists have failed to implement their intention—as they put it—to march through Afghanistan's border provinces. They have not succeeded in this, not in even a single province.

Following the withdrawal of half of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan in accordance with the Geneva agreements, the terrorist, subversive and sabotage activities of the extremist groups have undoubtedly been intensified, particularly in some border provinces and also in a number of other regions.

[Correspondent Sergey Iyezuitov] How do you assess the course of the implementation of the Geneva agreements by their direct signatories, Afghanistan and Pakistan? How are the USSR and the United States discharging their duty as guarantors?

[Tanay] As for the Republic of Afghanistan and our friend, the USSR, we have been fulfilling the Geneva accords in full. Unfortunately—and I will not balk at saying this—Pakistan has failed to undertake even a single positive step toward implementing the Geneva agreements. On the contrary, the activities of Pakistan and the United States concerning the training, equipping, and sending of convoys with arms, ammunition, and counterrevolutionary formations into Afghanistan have been intensifed several times compared with the past.

[Iyezuitov] Attempts have recently been made to accuse the Republic of Afghanistan of violating the Geneva accords, in particular, of Afghan planes carrying out bombing raids on the territory of Pakistan. Is there any real basis for these charges? Why should Pakistan find all this hullabaloo necessary?

[Tanay] The very logic of the national reconciliation policy, pursued by the Republic of Afghanistan, rules out any possibility of aggressive activities against Pakistan or any other neighboring states, of which attempts are being made to accuse us.

I can say that it is precisely Pakistan, acting contrary to the Geneva agreements, that constantly carries out aggressive sorties against the Afghan borders. This is being done to confuse world public opinion and the governments of various countries. Unfortunately, the fratricidal war in Afghanistan has turned into a kind of war business for the Pakistani Government and the leaders of the irreconcilable opposition. [end recording]

Subsequently, Comrade Gerasimov dwelled on some questions of current international politics. In conclusion, journalists' questions were answered.

Afghan Deputy Minister Criticizes Pakistan

LD1709170388 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 17 TASS—'Abdul Ghafar Laqanwal, deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, has strongly denounced Pakistan's policy aimed at subverting the Geneva agreements.

Appearing on Afghan television Friday, he said that although the Geneva agreements are the basis for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and establishing healthy relations between the neighbouring countries, Pakistan keeps conducting the policy of interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Prior to the signing of the agreements, the main pretext for interference, in the opinion of Pakistan, was the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Now that the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan fullfil the commitments assumed in Geneva—the first phase of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops was completed and conditions were created for the return home of refugees—Pakistan, resorting to a propaganda clamour, impedes the process of peaceful settlement.

Intensifying the anti-Afghan propaganda, setting forth far-fetched pretexts for alleged pounding of Pakistani territory and violation by Afghan aircraft of Pakistan's airspace pursue the goal of diverting the attention of the world community away from the violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements, Laqanwal said in conclusion.

Vorontsov Receives Omani Ambassador

LD1609160988 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, today received Oman ambassador to the Soviet Union Nizar ibn 'Ali. The two men discussed ways of further developing bilateral relations and expressed mutual interest in promoting the process of talks between Iran and Iraq, in the earliest normalisation of the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Israeli Friendship Delegation Tours Leningrad

LD1709021388 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Leningrad September 16 TASS—A group of activists from the Israel-USSR friendship movement is continuing in Leningrad their tour of the Soviet Union. The group has been invited by the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

"Israel is evincing great interest in everything that is taking place in the Soviet Union. This is especially true with regard to perestroyka, glasnost and processes of democratisation of Soviet society," the head of the delegation, Shlomo Shamli, has told TASS.

"The majority of Israeli citizens appreciate the Soviet Union's consistent and efficient striving for peace," he added. Israel is witnessing a broadening movement of intellectuals opposed to the occupation of Arab lands. Youth refuse to serve in the army on the occupied territories.

"Ever more Israelis are campaigning for a peaceful settlement of the conflict with the Arabs, mindful of the senselessness of the drawn-out war that has claimed many human casualties from both sides."

"The Israeli Government, however, is continuing its course towards confrontation," Shamli pointed out.

"At present, ahead of the Knesset elections, there exists a real threat that the right-wingers will strengthen their positions and the progressive circles will find this hard to oppose.

"We will continue the struggle until Israel ceases to be the focus of aggression in the Middle East."

Syria's Al-Ahmar Meets Students in Moscow

JN1509130888 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1115 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] While in Moscow, Comrade 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, has met with Syrian Arab students studying in the Soviet Union. The meeting was attended by the comrade secretary and members of the command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Organization in Moscow, Syrian Ambassador in Moscow 'Isam al-Na'ib, and the embassy staff.

During the meeting, Comrade al-Ahmar reviewed the latest developments in the Arab region stressing Syria's role as a basis for Arab struggle and confrontation against imperialism and Zionism and their designs in the region.

Comrade al-Ahmar explained the arrangements and measures adopted in Syria to tackle the economic difficulties which have emerged in recent years. He referred to the positive results of the efforts being exerted and to the success that has been realized in the course of overcoming these difficulties. He affirmed that in its strategic orientation toward self-reliance, Syria managed within a very short period to reach very positive and direct results, and these call for optimism. They were within the framework of extricating the economy from some of the difficulties that emerged as a result of objective and subjective circumstances, and within the framework of the world economic crisis and its effects on the Syrian Arab economy. This is in addition to the great pressures placed on our country as a result of its principled, constant policy in confronting the Zionist aggression which is aimed against the entire Arab nation.

Comrade al-Ahmar praised the Palestinian Arab people's uprising in the occupied Arab territories. He said the uprising came amid positive militant Arab circumstances which began to appear with comrade struggler Hafiz al- Asad's confrontation in 1982. He added that these circumstances developed with the emergence of the Lebanese national resistance in occupied southern Lebanon and our Golan kinfolk's rejection of the Israeli policy of annexation and normalization. He affirmed that the Palestinian Arab people's uprising is not only a confrontation against the fiercest occupation and aggression in human history, but a rejection of all defeatist and capitulation attempts and an assertion that the people will punish anyone who considers relinquishing their fateful issues.

He also praised the relations of friendship and cooperation between Syria and the Soviet Union—relations based on a solid foundation of joint principles and interests. He affirmed that this friendship is firm, entrenched, and unchanging. He expressed Syria's support for the Soviet peaceful initiatives aiming at detente, easing tension, and entrenching a just peace in our region and the world. He expressed the appreciation of Syria and the Arab masses for the Soviet Union's stands in supporting Arab rights.

Comrade al-Ahmar answered students' questions on all issues concerning the current Arab situation. He affirmed Syria's determination to confront the imperialist-Zionist onslaught with all its resources and ability. He also affirmed Syria's determination to continue to struggle until our nation's pan-Arab objectives are realized.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Central African Foreign Minister Received
PM1509131188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 13 September A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, received M. Gbezera-Bria, foreign minister of the Central African Republic, who was stopping over in Moscow.

Questions of developing Soviet-Central African relations and the current international situation were discussed during the conversation, which was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Congolese Army Delegation Visits Moscow
PM1609092588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Completed"]

[Text] A delegation of political workers from the People's Republic of the Congo National People's Army headed by Lieutenant Colonel N. Dabira [name as published], chief of the National People's Army Main Political Directorate, was in the Soviet Union 9-13 September at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation of Congolese political workers was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, and Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The guests were acquainted with the way in which Soviet Armed Forces personnel are implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

The delegation members had talks at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate on questions of the content, organization, and performance of party-political work and visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy and the M.V. Frunze Military Academy. The Congolese political workers also visited a formation of the Moscow Military District, where they were familiarized with the Soviet servicemen's combat and political training, life, and daily existence.

The guests from the Congo visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum, laid flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall, and viewed Moscow's historic sights.

Renewed Cooperation With Somalia Hailed
EA1409170188 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] It has been 28 years since the Soviet Union and Somalia established diplomatic relations. Our commentator, (Georgiy Sashin), notes the following in this regard: The solidarity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Somalia goes back into history. In 1948-49, when the United Nations was discussing the affairs of countries formerly under Italian colonial rule, including Somalia, the Soviet Government supported the people of Somalia as a matter of principle, and called for independence to be granted to that country. Somalia was granted independence 10 years later in 1960. Two months after Somalia became independent, the Soviet Union and Somalia established diplomatic relations.

In 1969 the democratic revolution took place in Somalia, and this served to promote relations between the two countries. The Soviet Union, in compliance with the principles of international cooperation inherited from the great hero, Lenin, extended moral and material support to the Somalian Government. The two governments signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation and several economic and educational agreements, which formed the basis for the new type of relationship between the two countries—a new experience for the people of Somalia. Soviet teachers, doctors, students, geologists, and scholars went to Somalia. Young Somalis came to the Soviet Union for further education.

The successful cooperation between Somalia and the Soviet Union gave a start to the participation of the Somali Government in the economic sector, the relaxation of the grip of the international capitalist markets on Somalia's economy, and the implementation of progressive socioeconomic changes in the country. The Soviet people maintained their love for the people of Somalia, and continued to deal in a friendly manner even after the leaders of Somalia unilaterally abrogated the treaty of friendship and cooperation in 1977.

Initial steps to signal the promotion of relations betwen the Soviet Union and Somalia were recently acclaimed in the Soviet Union. This was evidence of the existence of bilateral interests. It is obvious that to reestablish the cooperation which was revoked during what President Mohamed Siad Barre termed the difficult times is not going to be easy. It requires continuous joint effort. It is gratifying that the two countries are interested in reestablishing closer relations. The people of the Soviet Union, who are now celebrating the 28th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Somalia, hope that this occasion will mark the beginning of the reestablishment of friendly cooperation between our countries.

East Europe

Walesa, Kiszczak, Others Meet To Plan Talks

PM1809164988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Single Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Preparations for 'Roundtable' Discussion"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep—The latest meeting between C. Kiszczak, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Discipline, and a group of trade union, public, and Catholic Church figures, academics, and representatives of culture has been held here. Taking part in the meeting were J. Ozdowski, vice marshal of the Polish Sejm; S. Ciosek, secretary general of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; J. Szczepanski, the prominent scientist; and L. Walesa.

According to a PAP report, questions pertaining to the organization of a "roundtable" meeting were discussed. A rapprochement of positions took place. It was agreed that the "roundtable" topics would be the accelerated development and modernization of the national economy.

It was decided that the "roundtable" meeting would open in the middle of October.

Poles Seek 'Anticrisis Pact' Favoring Reform

PM1809160588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Undated Warsaw dispatch by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "Anticrisis Pact. Such, in the Opinion of Poles, Is the Basis of National Accord"]

[Text] The wave of illegal strikes, which have caused the Polish economy damage provisionally estimated at Z53.7 billion, $20 million (the coal extraction lost alone amounted to 840,000 tonnes), and [as published] R9 million, has abated. But the problems which caused them, particularly the prices and incomes policy of which the public disapproves, remain and are continuing to fuel tension. They are currently at the center of attention and are being discussed in all strata of the population, in public organizations, and, naturally, in leading circles.

The emotional temperature in the trade unions, which number 7 million people in their ranks, is particularly high. Speaking at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum recently, Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the OPZZ (Polish National Trade Union Accord), noted that the trade unions which did not participate in the strikes are suffering great moral damage because the top state administration does not heed their voice—as an "early warning system." For the things written on the strikers' banners—this refers to unresolved economic and social problems—had been repeatedly raised by the trade unions, which had analyzed the unfavorable situation and made on the basis of that analysis recommendations, proposals, and eventually demands aimed at defending working people's interests. Unfortunately, they met with bureaucratic obstacles and disregard. It took the illegal strikers to start talking about all this for the authorities to begin to show concern and immediately start formulating measures. In such a situation, A. Miodowicz asked, how can the genuine trade unions maintain face and retain their authority?

A few days ago the OPZZ Council, in whose work representatives of the most important industrial enterprises and also trade union figures who are Sejm deputies participated, adopted a decision unprecedented in the history of People's Poland: a decision to express a vote of no confidence in the government and demand its resignation. This decision is to be examined by the Sejm in the very near future. This is how dramatically events have been developing since the second series of so-called "wildcat" strikes this year.

As W. Jaruzelski, who stressed the recent deterioration in the economic situation in the country, said in his speech at the PZPR Central Committee plenum, the Sejm will assess the work of the government at its fall session and decide whether it can continue with its mission. Patient dialogue. That is the only reliable and effective way with whose aid, in the party's opinion, the most difficult questions can and must be resolved. And such dialogue is now on the agenda. Especially since the years following the well-known crisis phase of the early eighties have shown that difficulties and problems cannot be successfully overcome either by making attempts to do away with socialism, on the one hand, or by curbing the reforms—at which conservative and bureaucratic forces which do not want radical change have become adept—on the other.

This explains the popularity gained by the idea of a "roundtable" designed to bring together this very fall representatives both of the official ruling and party circles and of that section of the opposition referred to as constructive. The "roundtable" will make it possible to broaden the base of national accord and involve in creative activity all who wish their fatherland well and think realistically, being concerned, in the words of one Polish commentator, not about producing words but about doing concrete useful things.

Heated debates which have become an expression of the feelings and thoughts agitating society are currently in progress around the idea of a "roundtable." The country has reached a point in the process of socialist renewal and democratic development when, it is generally recognized, stopping is the last thing that is needed. What is needed is real steps forward to overcome the dogmas and simplistic thinking on both sides.

The well-known Polish sociologist A. Rajkiewicz, member of the Consultative Council under the Polish State Council chairman, points out, for example, that the projected program for the rebirth and even, in his words, the salvation of the country cannot be implemented by the authorities alone. It is a task for none other than a multistrata national coalition. It is wrong to think, the professor says, that this kind of agreement is wholly in the authorities' interest. Further conflicts and mutual mistrust are the path to self-destruction. But trust can be achieved only in a common cause, by constantly getting rid of everything that irritates each side and fuels emotions and prejudices based on the premise that "only the elite can agree among itself"—the authorities, the opposition, and the church. An appeal should be made to the whole of society, and this is how the task of the "roundtable" is seen.

It is necessary to make concessions to each other and to seek a reasonable compromise. This is now beginning to be understood even by those people from the former "Solidarity" who, while now campaigning for trade union pluralism, refused during the period of senseless attacks on the socialist system to see anyone beyond "Solidarity."

Poland now is completely different from what it was 7 years ago. It is not only that its face is being determined by the major socioeconomic reforms and new democratic institutions. Some 4 million people who were children in 1981 have grown up during this time. This generation of "recalcitrants" should also be taken into account by the "roundtable" because they are the country's future, not people who "cross the river to find shelter in the shade beneath the trees."

The "roundtable" discussions are not expected to be easy. They will be like life itself. The tone for them, in the general view, must not be set either by the lobby linked with a monopolist interpretation of the party's role or by extremely destructive opposition elements. Neither are seen in society as the driving force of progress. The most productive, as you can read in the newspapers at this time, is the positive center, and precisely this sphere is the most frequent source of voices arguing the need to create a government of people's confidence. A government in which the factor of professionalism would be decisive and which would be supported by diverse social forces. This would indeed be social pluralism in practice.

In brief, as commentators in the leading Polish newspapers write, millions of people currently not involved in state affairs must be brought into the process. Honest, working, patriotically inclined people. They are demanding a respectful attitude and understanding, although at present they constitute the silent majority.

The newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY has published extremely interesting and highly indicative interviews with a number of public figures whose positions are by no means distinguished by uniformity in their approach to the problems. What unites them? First and foremost concern about the future of the people and the state. The word "self-limitation" is often heard. A remark made by Professor H. Kubiak of the Jagiellonian University seems apt to me. The crux of it is that neither side must dictate conditions to the other (this would be seen as a sign of improved political culture). It is necessary to speak openly and boldly, without general slogans and ideological assertions, and especially avoid holding the so-called "strike gun" at the head of "roundtable" partners.

I think it is worth citing, albeit briefly, some of the things that have been said.

Historian R. Bender, chairman of the Lublin Catholic Intellectuals' Club: "The prime concern remains the state of our economy. I propose that a committee for the salvation of the national economy be organized. It could consist of 10-15 leading specialists, including from opposition circles. It must be given emergency powers and the chance to directly influence the direction of government activity. We know the present cabinet more from the theoretical concepts they have devised than from their implementation. There is a need for personal, specific responsibility for erroneous decisions. In many countries frequent changes of cabinet are not seen as anything special. Let it be the same in our country. Premiers come and go, but democracy remains."

Political scientist M. Gulchinskiy [name as published] of the Polish Academy of Sciences: "It is necessary to lift the blockade on everything that obstructs [as published] economic initiative and rid our state of this congenital defect. The administration has mastered the art of bureaucratic obstacles perfectly; it must now be taught to create the conditions for initiative."

Assistant Professor S. Kwiatowski, director of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion: "The 'roundtable' must be a meeting between people with different interests. We are currently in a stalemate situation. One side, the authorities, cannot mobilize the whole public to fulfill a constructive program, while the other, the opposition, cannot organize a general protest against the authorities. The paradox is that it is the authorities who have the greatest chance of causing the people to rebel—all that is needed is a single ill-conceived decision. According to a poll of citizens, the opposition is currently weaker on all points. But it cannot be disregarded. There is a need for dialogue. There is a need for an 'anticrisis pact'; that is, the unification of people in favor of reform. The main element in the democratization process is the development of diverse forms of democracy—in production and industry—and the development of the self-management of labor councils which can effectively oppose bureaucracy."

Everything that has become the subject of truly universal reflections on the forms and fate of socialist renewal at this time leaves nobody indifferent. Life itself with its everyday concerns, problems, and conflicts is prompting the party, the authorities, social organizations, and democratic institutions to involve themselves with a matter of historic importance—the improvement of socialism, which by its very nature does not tolerate dogmas and simplistic schemes and is aimed at resolving the prime task: the improvement of man.

The time for decisions has come. Important and brave decisions. Even if they appear unusual and do not fit the Procrustean Bed of moss-covered ideological stereotypes. The reason why genuine socialism is both precious and attractive to millions of people with no leanings toward political scheming is probably that it possesses the capacity to renew and reform itself and make adjustments to the things which do not meet society's interests. The example of Poland shows that it is on precisely this path. The country is undergoing an historic test.

Polish Government Confidence Crisis Examined

PM1709175588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent V. Runov report: "Poland: Barrier of Mistakes on the Path of Reform. In Connection With the Upcoming Convocation of an Extraordinary Session of the Polish Sejm"]

[Text] Not for a long time have political events developed as turbulently as in the last 3-4 weeks, a TASS correspondent in Warsaw reports for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. First the country was rocked by strikes, and then extensive debates began on how to further reform the economy in order not to repeat the mistakes of the past. There has never before been an instance in Polish political practice when the question not only of mistakes which have been committed but also of the degree of responsibility and competence of those who made them has been raised so sharply.

The Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum held in August this year provided an in-depth analysis of the situation which has emerged and confirmed the party's course aimed at socialist renewal.

Summing up the results of the discussion, PZPR Central Committee First Secretary W. Jaruzelski stressed at the plenum that the number of barriers on the path of accelerating the economic reform has increased recently. The Polish Council of Ministers was given special powers to overcome them. But as yet this has not yielded tangible results. The criticism of the government heard at the plenum is correct from many angles. At its fall session the Sejm will assess the government's work and decide whether it can continue its mission. The trade unions have been sharply critical of the government's activity. At a session of the Polish National Trade Union Accord (OPZZ) Executive Committee held 20 August, when the wave of strikes was at its height, it was established that in most instances the workers' protest constituted opposition to the unsuccessful economic policy pursued recently. In a statement which it adopted the OPZZ expressed disapproval of the government's activity in the field of socioeconomic policy and requested the marshal of the Sejm to convene an extraordinary session to make a political and economic assessment of economic leadership and management methods.

At the beginning of September it became clear to everyone that the question of confidence in the government had become particularly acute. A vote of no confidence in it was expressed on 5 September at a meeting of trade union representatives from 210 of the country's biggest enterprises. The resolution which it adopted stated that the prime cause of the social tension was the excessive increase in prices carried out in the fall of this year which resulted in a decline in the living standard of broad strata of the population. A readiness to resort to more acute forms of protest, up to the declaration of readiness to strike, was expressed in the event of the nonfulfillment of the demands made by the OPZZ. A simultaneous demand was made to simplify the procedure envisaged by the law for resolving disputes, which at present is too complex and encourages workers to stage so-called "wildcat strikes," which take place without agreement with enterprise administrations or the trade unions.

This turn of events testifies that Poland is entering a new stage of parliamentary democracy. Certain figures in the West and representatives of the extreme opposition are attempting to make out that the two waves of strikes which have swept Poland have allegedly created virtually a revolutionary situation. The situation is in fact completely different. Admittedly there has been a decline in the economy. The reform, the correctness of whose strategic line is acknowledged by everybody, including the so-called "constructive opposition," has started to founder in the last year or two.

And this had an immediate impact on primarily the workers. The trade unions came to their defense, which is perfectly natural. After all, reforms are not dogmas set permanently in concrete, and new problems which have to be resolved as you go along are always arising in the economy. It can now be said precisely that there have been no strikes where management and workers have been able to restructure themselves and eliminate emerging contradictions in good time. But this has not been the case everywhere.

It has already been calculated that the losses from the strikes total around Z50 billion and [as published] $18 million. Many people have realized that emotions and a reluctance to probe the essence of the problems only complicate the situation.

Guided by the decisions of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the critical remarks from the trade unions, the government took immediate measures to improve the situation in the economy. Thus, the Polish Council of Ministers has created a working group to formulate a plan for the consolidation of the national economy for 1989-1990 envisaging the acceleration of the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform.

Despite this, however, the problem of confidence in the government remains unresolved. Will it remain in power or resign? This question, which would have seemed stupid or provocative even quite recently, has now become a political reality and will be the subject of discussion by the Polish parliament on 19 September.

PZPR Politburo, Secretariat Meetings Noted

LD1809085588 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw September 18 TASS—Urgent problems of Poland's socio-political situation were discussed at a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) on Saturday.

The same day Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, conducted a meeting of the PUWP Central Committee Secretariat, first secretaries of provincial party committees and heads of the Central Committee departments.

PUWP's tasks at the present stage were discussed.

Further Reportage on Zaykov Visit to Bulgaria

Comments on 'Important' Agreement

AU1709161288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Sep 88 p 6

[Antonia Mechkova and Petur Punchev report: "Ratification Through Practical Actions Is Expected"]

[Excerpts] An agreement on the further development of cooperation among party, trade union, and youth organizations, as well as between the people's councils and labor collectives of Sofia and Moscow, was signed on 14 September 1988 in Sofia. [passage omitted]

Following the signing of the agreement Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom, made the following statement to journalists: "This is an important agreement as regards its scope and it reflects those fundamental changes in mutual relations between Moscow and Sofia which we have recently observed. While our agreements in the past were concluded mainly between the city party committees, or between the councils of the two capitals, the present agreement contributes to the consolidation of relations between workers' collectives and scientific-research institutions. We support these relations and this support was confirmed by our signatures under the document which is coming into effect today. This event marks the end of our visit to Sofia, and we would like to express our gratitude to the Sofia citizens for their cordial hospitality, in the hope of meeting again." [passage omitted]

Continues Tour 15 Sep

LD1609131288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1747 GMT 15 Sep 88

[By TASS special correspondents V. Abrosimov and B. Shestakov]

[Excerpts] Plodiv, 15 Sep (TASS)—L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is on a working visit to Bulgaria, continues his tour of the country. He is accompanied by G. Filopov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and V.V. Sharapov, USSR ambassador in Bulgaria.

He toured one of the major communities in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the center of which is the town of Pazardzhik. [passage omitted]

A frank, comradely discussion took place in the BCP provincial committee about the activities of party, state, and economic bodies in conditions of perestroyka. It was stressed that the principled coincidence of aims and tasks in the renewal of society opens new prospects for Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation at all levels. The key link must be direct relations between labor collectives. [passage omitted]

Shipka has become a symbol of the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of our countries. The CPSU Central Committee secretary laid flowers at the memorial tomb for Russian soldiers killed during the liberation of Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

Last year the "Emko" scientific production association was founded in Gabrovo by the local "Mekhatronika" combine and the Moscow "Nauchnyy Tsentr" association. L.N. Zaykov visited its workshops today. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov said that the Soviet side will give effective support to cooperation projects. The initiative of labor collectives themselves is particularly important for the development and intensification of integration.

The same day, the Soviet guest visited Varna.

Concludes Visit

LD1609131788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1224 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Varna, 16 Sep (TASS)—Special correspondents Boris Grishchenko and Boris Shestakov report:

The visit to Bulgaria by Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkon, has ended. [passage omitted]

At Varna Airport, the Soviet guest was seen off by G. Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and other officials.

The seeing-off party included V.V. Sharapov, USSR ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Returns to Moscow

LD1609233588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Comrade Zaykov returned to Moscow from Bulgaria. At Vnuknovo airport he was met by Comrade Slyunkov and other officials.

Honecker, Gorbachev Greet GDR Moscow Exhibit

LD1709105888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1056 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 16 Sep (ADN)—The GDR'S largest exhibition abroad to date was opened in the Soviet capital on Friday afternoon. Around 200 GDR combines, enterprises, scientific establishments, and foreign trade enterprises are offering a comprehensive export range on an area of 25,000 square meters on the site of the USSR national economy exhibition for the largest foreign trade partner of the republic. More than 3,500 products, machine systems, models of complete installations, and engineering solutions are being presented in eight thematic complexes.

At the opening of the exhibition, GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil greeted Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Aleksey Antonov and Ivan Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; and other ministers, CPSU Central Committee department heads, and representatives of USSR science and industry.

In a word of greeting to the exhibition, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, described it as a politically significant event. He was pleased to take the opportunity "to greet most warmly our friends and comrades-in-arms in the Soviet Union."

The GDR was presenting itself here "with multilateral results of our people's work in the shaping of socialist society. Numerous export items from all areas of the national economy, as well as depictions of the progress achieved in the sociopolitical area, are intended to convey a lively impression of the GDR's power."

Erich Honecker stressed that it was the aim particularly "to introduce more closely those products and technologies that embody the striving for top scientific-technical achievements of great economic use. He hoped that this striving will provide many stimuli for the further expansion of our proven cooperation in the scientific-technical and economic areas, and that their perspectives up to the year 2000 would be made clear."

"We regard this largest GDR exhibition abroad as a high point in the development of fraternal relations between our two countries," Erich Honecker wrote. "Typical of them is the constant, more effective unfolding of the material and spiritual potential of socialism, of the advantages contained within socialism for the well-being of mankind. The making and growth of the first socialist workers' and peasants' state on German soil is linked very closely with friendship toward the Soviet Union, with the deepening of our cooperation. The fraternal link with the party and country of Lenin is a matter close to the hearts of our poeple."

Erich Honecker pointed out that multilateral agreements, arrangements, and contracts exist between the national economies, combines, enterprises, and organizations of the two countries, which link a close network of mutually advantageous cooperation.

"This strengthens the power of both countries and benefits socialist economic integration. At the same time, personal acquaintance and the feeling of belonging together are promoted lastingly in this way. It is our aim to achieve a new quality in scientific-technical and economic cooperation with the USSR in accordance with the economic strategy decided on by the SED," Erich Honecker said.

"A secure peace is and remains the most important thing for all of this. Shoulder to shoulder with its Soviet friends and comrades-in-arms, the GDR commits all its might to banishing the danger of a nuclear inferno. It always will be found among those who act for disarmament, for improvement in international relations through the policy of dialogue and cooperation.

"I wish all Soviet people much success in the realization of their great projects for the well-being of the people and for securing peace."

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sent warm greetings to the participants and organizers of the GDR exhibition. "This exhibition provides evidence of the great successes the GDR working people have achieved in socialist construction under the SED's leadership," Gorbachev stressed. "At the same time, it is a convincing demonstration of the fruitful relations of fraternal friendship between our parties, states, and peoples. The Soviet people value these relations highly and will do everything to preserve and further consolidate them in the future as well."

Mikhail Gorbachev called the GDR the Soviet Union's largest partner in economic and scientific-technical cooperation. "This aids us in the solution of the most important national economic problems in both countries, from the production of consumer goods to the development of top technologies—modern microelectronics, lasers, cosmic instruments, and new materials."

"In many ways, all these are the fruits of the direct creative cooperation of work collectives, scientists, experts, and workers. At the same time, there still are many reserves here, and it is in our joint interest to exploit these more boldly and more energetically," Gorbachev wrote.

"Of course, our common concern continues to be the elimination of the danger of war, which threatens the world, and a general improvement in the international climate as well. We see in the GDR a reliable friend and ally of the Soviet people in the struggle for a world free of nuclear weapons, for disarmament, and for understanding in Europe on the basis of the equal cooperation of all peoples and states on the continent.

"May this exhibition be a practical step on the path of the further development of the multisided cooperation of our countries for the well-being of the USSR and GDR peoples," Gorbachev stated. "I use this opportunity to wish the GDR working people further successes in all areas of social life, as well as prosperity and lasting peace."

Gorbachev Message Published

PM1909094188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Gorbachev message "To Participants and Organizers of 'GDR in Moscow' Exhibit"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants in and organizers of the "GDR in Moscow" exhibit. Attesting to the great successes achieved in socialist building by the GDR working people under the leadership of the SED, the exhibit is at the same time a convincing demonstration of the fruitfulness of the relations of fraternal friendship between our parties, countries, and peoples. Soviet people assess these relations highly and will continue to do everything to preserve and consolidate them.

The GDR is the Soviet Union's biggest partner in economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, which helps to resolve the most important national economic problems of the two countries—from the production of consumer goods to the creation of the most advanced manufacturing methods, modern microelectronics, lasers, space technology instruments, and new types of materials. This is all largely the fruit of direct creative collaboration between labor collectives, scientists, specialists, and workers. At the same time there are still many reserves here and it is in our common interests to put them into operation more boldly and vigorously.

And, of course, the elimination of the threat of war looming over the world and the fundamental normalization of the international climate remain a common concern. We see in the GDR a reliable friend and ally of the Soviet people in the struggle for a nuclear-free world, disarmament, and all-European mutual understanding on the basis of equal cooperation between all peoples and states of the continent.

May this exhibit be a practical step on the path of the further development of our countries' all-around collaboration for the benefit of the peoples of the USSR and the GDR.

I take this opportunity to wish the GDR working people new achievements in all spheres of social life, prosperity, and lasting peace.

M. Gorbachev.

West Europe

Ryzhkov Sees Off Finnish Prime Minister

LD1709164288 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS — Harri Holkeri, prime minister of the Republic of Finland, today left Moscow for the homeland. He was staying in the Soviet Union on an unofficial visit.

At the airport he was seen off by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and other officials.

Before flying home, Nikolay Ryzhkov and Harri Holkeri had a brief talk.

The tour of this country took the prime minister of the Republic of Finland to Tashkent, Bukhara and Samarkand.

Soviet-Finnish Trade Union Talks End

LD1709093388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Helsinki, 16 Sep (TASS)—The latest, 32d, session of the Soviet-Finnish Trade Union Commission has ended in the Saariselka area (northern Finland). Delegations from the central organization of Finnish trade unions and of the Soviet trade uions took part, headed by Pertti Viinanen, chairman of the Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions, and by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU.

The communique on the results of the session stresses the need to reduce strategic nuclear weapons and contains an appeal for the arms race not to be allowed to spread to space and for a chemical weapons ban.

The document notes the particular importance of banning conventional weapons, as well as implementing the idea of creating a nonnuclear zone in the north of Europe. The sides expressed satisfaction at the development of the international situation, stressing the importance and signficance of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty.

The meeting discussed economic and social development questions and cooperation between the trade unions of the two countries. Members of the Finnish delegation spoke of the trade unions' struggle for the interests of the working people and about the domestic political situation.

Soviet participants in the session shared their impressions of the 19th all-union party conference and provided information about the new tasks facing Soviet trade unions in light of the decisions of that party forum.

The sides pointed with satisfaction to the good prospects for developing international cooperation and expanding dialogue between the trade unions of various countries and expressed support for peoples fighting for national and economic independence, the guarantee of basic civil rights, and for democracy.

Gas Minister Praises Cooperation With FRG
AU1509105388 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 15 Sep 88 p 1

["T.I.O." article: "More Natural Gas in the USSR"]

[Text] Moscow—The natural gas resources in the USSR are much higher than assumed in the past, when the known extractable reserves were estimated at 40,000 billion cubic meters, and the additionally extractable resources at 120,000 billion cubic meters. That is no less than 56 percent of the world's natural gas reserves. At a meeting with German financial journalists, Soviet geologist Professor Bokserman said that these figures on Soviet natural gas resources will be revised in 1989. The natural gas resources are much larger, in particular due to discoveries in western Siberia, but also far up in the north, he noted. Meanwhile, additional resources of 80,000 billion cubic meters of gas hydrates are being considered, which increases the total additional extractable resources to 200,000 billion cubic meters. This gas is already being extracted in testing fields in eastern Siberia, he added.

Gas Minister V. Chernomyrdin and the general manager of Soyuz Gas Export, V. Mikhaylov, praised cooperation with the Essen firm Ruhrgas AG, which is the Soviet Union's largest customer in Western Europe, purchasing 18.3 billion cubic meters of natural gas in 1987 and a total of 140 billion cubic meters from 1973 to 1987. Mikhalyov said that the relationship with Ruhrgas, which has existed for 18 years now, is one of the "pillars of the USSR's gas policy." Ruhrgas chairman of the board Klaus Liesen believes that the percentage of "Russian gas" in the FRG's natural gas reserves—which accounts for 30 percent as compared to 28 percent each from the FRG itself and the Netherlands, as well as 14 percent from Norway—will not decrease in the future. Liesen: "We are looking forward to our common future with optimism."

Soviet, FRG Scientists Examine Nuclear Safety
LD1709021788 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—A press conference was held at Moscow's Institute of Nuclear Energy today, devoted to problems of nuclear power safety. The press conference was timed to coincide with a seminar on "ensuring NPP [nuclear power plant] safety during designing, construction and exploitation, including risk analysis", held under the programme of scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR State Committee on the Use of Nuclear Energy and the Federal Ministry of Research and Technology of the FRG.

Scientists were satisfied with the progress in the implementation of the program. At the seminar they conducted an intensive exchange of information on specific questions of the use of nuclear energy, reactor safety, design concepts for equipment and systems of reactors, simulation of accidents, risk analysis in NPP operation and others.

It was pointed out that, in addition to cooperation with state institutions, relations are also being established with major FRG firms with the view to elaborating joint designs for new-type high-temperature reactors with enhanced safety.

Vorontsov Receives UK's Gillmore
LD1509150788 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received at the USSR Foreign Ministry on September 14 David Gillmore, deputy permanent under-secretary of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, of Britain. He is staying in the USSR in connection with Soviet-British consultations on problems of the Asia-Pacific region.

During their conversation they devoted much attention to a peaceful political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan.

Petrovskiy Receives Outgoing Greek Ambassador
LD0909132788 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received on September 8 Mikhail Dhoundas, ambassador of the Greek Republic to the USSR, in connection with his final departure from the Soviet Union.

Latin America & Caribbean

Namphy Ousted in Haiti Military Coup

LD1809083488 Moscow TASS in English 0748 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] Havana September 18 TASS—General Henri Namphy, head of the Haitian ruling junta, was toppled as a result of a military coup and delivered to the international airport in Port-au-Prince, the capital of this insular Caribbean state, Saturday night, reports reaching Havana say. General Namphy is expected to be expelled from Haiti soon.

Who headed the current military coup or who is in control of the situation in Haiti is so far unknown.

General Namphy seized power this year in a June 19 coup which ousted Haiti's President Leslie Manigat. For two years before the June coup Namphy had headed the military junta which had taken over dictator Jean Claude Duvalier who fled Haiti in February 1986.

Intensive shooting, involving automatic weapons, broke out around the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince on Saturday. The Haitian radio station Metropol reported that first shots were heard around 5.00 p.m. (local time), saying nothing about who had taken part in the shooting or whether anybody was killed or wounded.

The radio station emphasized that the Dessalines Battalion headed by Colonel Jean Claude Paul is situated close to the presidential palace. Jean Claude Paul was one of the chief figures in the June events which led to the expulsion of Haiti's President Leslie Manigat and brought General Namphy into power.

An impetus to the June events was given by Namphy's order to dismiss several Army and police commanders, including Colonel Jean Claude Paul. The Dessalines commander refused to obey Namphy and ordered his unit to hold all-round defences. President Manigat appealed against Namphy's ruling later, after which the general decided to end his presidency at one blow and restore the military rule in Haiti.

According to Haiti's political circles, the relations between the military junta head and Colonel Jean Claude Paul after the June events could be described only as those of concealed enmity.

Reports reaching Havana say that the overthrown General Henri Namphy has found refuge in the Dominican Republic's Embassy.

Unconfirmed sources say that a ruling triumvirate has been set up in Haiti, comprising Brigade General [title as received] Gerard Abraham, the Haitian current foreign minister, Colonel Acedius Saint-Louis and Colonel Prosper Avril.

General Assumes Presidency

LD1809083788 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] London September 18 TASS—General Prosper Avril appeared on local television today and proclaimed himself the new president of Haiti, REUTER reported from Port-au-Prince.

Avril, 48 is a graduate of the Haitian Military Academy. He was a personal aide of the overthrown dictator Jean Claude Duvalier.

General Henri Namphy who has found refuge in the Dominican Republic's Embassy is expected to take off to Santo Domingo within the next few hours.

General Avril Profiled

LD1909070788 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Havana September 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda:

General Prosper Avril came to power on Haiti as a result of the 73rd military coup in the history of this insular Caribbean state. He is a representative of the reactionary military brass hats and the big bourgeoisie, reports the Latin American press. On accusing the previous regime led by General Namphy of "creating anarchy and chaos", 52-year-old Avril said in his TV address to the nation that he was forced to assume the duties of the president to turn Haiti into a state where freedoms and guaranteed human rights would prosper.

In February 1986 Prosper Avril was a member of the so-called National Government Council and became a closer aide to General Namphy, the head of the interim government. Two years later the military put their stooge Leslie Manigat into the presidential office. But three months later the self-same Namphy overthrew him with direct assistance from Avril and again started reigning Haiti. This time it was Namphy's turn who was overthrown, deported to the Dominican Republic and, according to a twist of fate, occupied the same suite at a sumptuous hotel in Santo Domingo, where ex-president Manigat banished by him from Haiti had lived exactly three months ago.

Another military coup in Haiti is a result of the unending scramble for power among the army brass hats, Frank Ippolit, representative of the United Party of Haitian Communists, told TASS. Despite assurances by Washington officials, it is self-evident that the coup in Haiti was engineered with the knowledge of the U.S. ambassador in Port-au-Prince.

Contras Accept Cease-Fire Talks Proposal

LD1709215788 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Managua September 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov reports:

The leaders of the Nicaraguan contras have accepted the proposal by the Sandinist government for conducting without any pre-conditions talks on a final ceasefire. At the same time, they insist that the new round of the peace dialogue be held in Guatemala, Costa Rica or the Dominican Republic rather than in Managua as is demanded by the Nicaraguan Government. In their opinion the talks may be held on September 26-28.

According to reports reaching here, this response by the contras is contained in a statement which members of the so-called directorate of the armed counterrevolution adopted following stormy debates. This document points out that the armed opposition also accepts the government proposal for holding a preliminary meeting in Guatemala on September 19 to discuss the agenda of the new round of "top-level" negotiations.

Noteworthy is the fact that the ringleaders of the U.S.-funded mercenary gangs stubbornly refuse to conduct talks in Managua.

So far, there has been no reaction by the Nicaraguan authorities to the counter-revolutionaries' statement. Local political observers do not rule out, however, that the contras' positive response to the proposal for sitting down at the negotiating table is far from demonstrates [as received] their eagerness to conduct a constructive dialogue. They admit that the counter-revolution plans to thwart the negotiations, once they are held, and put the blame for this on the Nicaraguan Government. This plan, if realized, will allow them to get the earliest approval of new funds for conducting the war in Nicaragua from the U.S. Congress.

Bessmertnykh Meets Brazilian Counterpart 13 Sep

PM1509131388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 13 September A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister, met with L. Lampreia, Brazilian deputy foreign minister, who is in Moscow.

During the friendly conversation, the sides examined questions of the development of cooperation between the two countries and discussed some key problems of arms limitation and the international situation.

R. Sardenberg, Brazilian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Talks With Katushev Reported

PM1909100788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic ties, on 14 September received Luis Filipe Lampreia, Brazil's deputy foreign minister, who is heading the Brazilian delegation to the 11th session of the Soviet-Brazilian Intergovernmental Commission for Trade, Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation.

A broad circle of questions concerning the development of economic ties between the two countries was discussed.

Brazil's ambassador to the USSR, Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg, was present at the conversation.

Cuban Foreign Ministry Cited on London Incident

PM1509130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Arbitrariness. Cuban Foreign Ministry on London Incident"]

[Text] Havana, 14 Sep—The Cuban Foreign Ministry has issued a statement in connection with the British Government's decision to expel Cuban Ambassador Oscar Fernandez Mell and Cuban Embassy Third Secretary Carlos Medina from the country. The document points out that the British authorities took this action following an incident in Sussex Gardens (downtown London). According to information obtained by the Foreign Ministry from the Cuban Embassy in London, on 12 September Carlos Medina, who was coming out of the garage of his home, was approached by a group of people, including Florentino Azpillaga, former staffer at the Cuban Embassy in Prague who committed treason in June 1987 and entered CIA service. Resorting to threats, Azpillaga suggested that Medina desert. The Cuban diplomat, who said he feared for his safety, fired at the traitor with a pistol, putting the whole group to flight.

The British authorities have not yet mentioned the name of Azpillaga, who is presumed to have been wounded as a result of the incident. As the Foreign Ministry statement points out, this man, who is under the rigid control of the U.S. CIA, could not have gone to Britain and participated in the action against the Cuban diplomat in London without close cooperation with that country's intelligence service and authorities. "The British authorities and also the U.S. and British special services are probably now experiencing extreme difficulty in seeking explanations for what happened," the document emphasizes. "How did Azpillaga get to London? What kind of passport did he have? Under what name are the documents certifying his identity? Who were the people accompanying him? What did the British authorities know about all this?"

In the Cuban Foreign Ministry's opinion, "the decision to expel the Cuban ambassador to London, who had nothing to do with this incident, is arbitrary and unjust in the highest degree. This step pursues the goal of creating a scandal to cover up the unsavory fact of cooperation between the CIA and the British intelligence service in this shameful episode."

London, 14 Sep—The failed attempt by the U.S. and British special services to incline the third secretary at the Cuban Embassy in Britain toward treason is at the center of attention in British newspapers. According to THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, this action has "taken the form of a political scandal."

Political & Social

Further on Gorbachev Visit to Krasnoyarsk

Meets With Local Leaders

PM1709151388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Conversation in CPSU Kraykom"]

[Text] On 16 September M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting in Krasnoyarsk with members of the party kraykom bureau, members of the krayispolkom, and CPSU kraykom department chiefs.

Workers Address Meeting

LD1609084788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0801 GMT 16 Sep 88

[From the "Time, Events, People" program; unidentified correspondent's report from Krasnoyarsk]

[Text] A day for summing up results—this is surely what one should call today, the 5th day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's stay here in the Krasnoyarsk area. The warmness and sincerity of the meetings with people; the seriousness, the social significance of the problems which they raised in discussions with Mikhail Sergeyevich; his replies; his analysis of the state of affairs in the kray and in the country as a whole make his visit an event which is of interest and importance to all.

This morning Mikhail Sergeyevich held a meeting with members of the bureau, the party kraykom, and the kray ispolkom. A meeting of representatives of working people of the kray is currently taking place. Writers, scientists, managers of enterprises and sovkhozes, an architect, a shepherd, and a female weaver spoke at the meeting. They spoke with interest, without notes, from their hearts, about the problems which concern them today in the development of the country, in the development of its producton, and about problems of restructuring in the country.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is now speaking. He said that the assimilation of Siberia and the Far East is a task for all the people. He thanked the working people of Krasnoyarsk Kray for the sincerity and interest with which they have talked with him.

What struck me, Mikhail Sergeyevich said, is that people see that for the solution of big problems time is of course required. But let us speak honestly and divide it up. There are things which must be solved immediately. Several settlements lack a water supply. There are gaps in the provision of transport. In some places roofs are not repaired. This is the sort of thing which should be done in a month, a week, a day. It is essential to radically improve practical work, the Central Committee general secretary stated. We consider solving problems of food supply, housing, health, education, and ecology to be the priority problems.

Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech is continuing.

Gorbachev Speech to Workers

LD1609204588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1110 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a meeting in Krasnoyarsk with representatives of the working people of Krasnoyarsk Kray on 16 September—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, this is not the first time that I have visited Siberia. In the past, I had occasion to visit Altay Kray, Novosibirsk Oblast; I have passed through Yakutsk and Krasnoyarsk; and, after becoming the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, I was introduced to Tyumen Oblast. In my view, that trip proved to be both necessary and fruitful. In the summer of 1986, I was able to visit and to acquaint myself with the work and activities of the working people of the Maritime and Khabarovsk Krays, those major regions of the Far East. And now, the present trip to Krasnoyarsk Kray. During my visit here, I have toured industrial collectives and have met with the workers. It was a pleasant occasion for me yesterday when I met with the agricultural workers in Shushenskiy Rayon. I met with scientists and specialists, with kray, town, and rayon leaders. On the whole, this will be helpful to me in better understanding not only your concerns, but also those of the entire country.

After the 19th party conference, which adopted important decisions with regard to the deepening of economic reforms, the reforming of the political system, and the democratization of the entire life of Soviet society, the time for active, practical work for the implementation of these decisions has arrived. We now have a policy—restructuring—aimed at large goals, at the renewal of our society, at leading it toward new boundaries, ensuring a qualitative change in Soviet society. I think that this is a big gain for the first stage of restructuring. We have made big decisions pertaining to the main directions of restructuring. This, too, was necessary. It was necessary to decide whether to build the bridge lengthwise or across. The decision, as you can see, was not easy to arrive at, but it was sound, and the whole of our society participated. We have now made the decision. And now that we have it, the time for a very responsible stage has arrived—the time for practical efforts in the realization of what we have worked out together with you. This work will continue. This being the case, since our policies of restructuring, our decisions are now entering the plane of being practically realized. This means that restructuring now touches each party organization and each worker collective of each oblast, republic, kray, and all the working people of the country. This naturally also concerns you, the Siberians.

The Central Committee and the government pay great attention to the development of Siberia and the Far East. This can be explained primarily by the role these regions already have today and the increasing role they will play in the fate of our state.

Also of considerable importance is the fact that the Soviet Union comes into contact here with the people and the states of the Asian Continent. Therefore, from the point of view of foreign policies, Siberia and the Far East are of tremendous importance. The development of Siberia and the Far East is, generally speaking, a national task. With this in mind, programs have been developed and adopted. Perhaps they are lacking in something, perhaps even something important. We are already conscious of this; scientists have already warned us of some aspects, as have certain economic leaders. These meetings and conversations on Krasnoyarsk soil have shown that corrections must be made in these programs, keeping in mind those problems which have been raised here.

It ought to be said, even today, that these regions are contributing a great deal to the economy of the country. Suffice it to say that they contribute two-thirds of the oil and gas, more than 40 percent of the coal, 20 percent of electrical energy, and 37 percent of the production of commercial timber. These are invaluable, irreplaceable resources, and without them no society can exist. This kray has enormous water and land resources. Last year, Siberia and the Far East produced more than 24 million tonnes of grain, almost 2 million tonnes of meat, slightly short of 11 million tonnes of milk, and 9 [Gorbachev corrects himself]...4.9 million tonnes of fish.

Siberia is rich in reserves of nonferrous, noble, and rare metals which make up a significant proportion of our national wealth. In a word, the country cannot live without what Siberia and the Far East provide. We must express words of profound recognition to Siberians and Far Easterners, to those who live and work here today, for their enormous and selfless work. At the same time, we must be fair. These regions in turn need the whole country to take an active part in their development. Essentially, this is the way things are.

However, thinking about the present time, and particularly about the prospects for the development of the entire country, we must see the complete picture of life in these regions, comrades—both the achievements and the opportunities, as well as the great problems which have accumulated, the miscalculations, and even the mistakes, not only mistakes of a somewhat local or regional nature, but also, unfortunately, mistakes of a strategic order. We must become acquainted with these problems, understand them critically, and derive the necessary conclusions for the future. It is vital for us to have this knowledge, particularly now when we are lining up extensive and far-reaching development plans.

These were precisely the problems at the center of all the meetings and conversations held over the past few days. But, generally, we talked about how restructuring is doing in practice at labor collectives in Krasnoyarsk Kray. I must say that, in those numerous conversations which we held in workshops and scientific institutions, as well as in the fields and in the streets of cities and villages, I wanted to cast light on many problems of interest to the CPSU Central Committee and the government. At the same time, I felt that the people of Krasnoyarsk wanted to tell me many things, to bring to the attention of the Central Committee and the government their opinions and their assessments of both the situation in the kray and on the progress of restructuring.

What can be said? People are now gaining a fuller understanding of the significance of restructuring for the country and for socialism in general. At least they now have a clear understanding—and I have the majority of people in mind—that restructuring will not move forward until every working collective, every person, joins in the solution of new tasks in a real way; and I am pleased that this idea was expressed in the the addresses of comrades today at the beginning of our meeting.

In conversations, I also heard many critical comments, both about the work of central organs, particularly the ministries and departments, as well as about the activities of local party, soviet, and economic organs and leading cadres. In my opinion, everything was expressed sincerely, directly, and with an ardent desire and hope that things will be heard and taken into account in work, and that it will lead to some solution. Generally, I am quite pleased by the nature of these conversations, which were open and even trusting. After all, I and those meeting with me had little time at our disposal; therefore, people disregarded everything that has been accomplished and achieved. They all said: That is already ours now—and they concentrated on problems and unresolved issues in order to attract my attention. I assessed this properly. Generally, I really felt and saw that the people of Krasnoyarsk have adopted restructuring. Is my conclusion correct? [applause] Restructuring is blazing its way here throughout this entire, extensive territory we call Krasnoyarsk Kray. We can already say that, step by step, it is becoming part of the life of work collectives, families, cities, villages, and rayons. This is most important, comrades.

But there is another factor that is no less important. People in Krasnoyarsk are concerned with the way restructuring is progressing, by the fact that not everything is proceeding as planned. It is another matter that perhaps it could be argued that restructuring is not progressing the way we would like it to. All of us would like to see things proceed faster. But it is not even proceeding according to plan. Here you are correct in saying that the decisions made must be implemented. People speaking on this subject have often stated very clearly, and have thought it necessary to emphasize, that demands must be raised. There has been some relaxation in the sense of responsibility that people feel. This concerns everyone, not just leading cadres, but working collectives as well. Discipline and order need to be tightened. Comrades, I have said this before, and I wish to repeat it: Restructuring without organization, responsibility, and order will achieve no result.

On the contrary. As a matter that embraces all spheres of life and is connected with changes, it can only be implemented by strengthening responsibility, and, moreover, responsibility and discipline founded on the awareness of the necessity for implementing these changes, and by increasing our demands on one another.

Something that has particularly struck me, comrades—and I spoke about this at the meeting, in conversation with members of the bureau of the kraykom and of the ispolkom of the kray soviet of working people's deputies—is that in general, you know, people do see that time, fresh resources, and much effort will be required to resolve these big problems. In order to get down to tackling major issues, we will still have to get organized and to augment, so to speak, our strength. People understand this, and this is to the merit of the Siberians. But in these conversations, they clearly differentiated between the issues belonging to this group that I have spoken of, and the issues which should already be resolved and that can be resolved in the initial stage of restructuring. Well, in fact what this refers to is fuel, light, leaking roofs, water supplies for multistory buildings or even for entire microrayons, unlit streets, disruptions in urban transport, and so on.

Really, comrades, is it still necessary to take years and years to do this? These are all issues that take months, days, or weeks. That is what people spoke about, and, by the way, these are things that they find most disappointing. They see this as connected with the work of economic and soviet cadres, and they draw attention to the fact that this means that there is not enough party attention and party control. I view the fact that the kraykom is now making high demands both on the soviets and on the economic bodies for specific work in their own areas, and the fact that it is now keeping under constant observation the central issues which are of concern to people, as a positive step, and I would like to support this. I think that right now, it is particularly clear who is worth what. For the person behind the machine tool, financial autonomy continues to reveal what he is made of and what his attitude toward the job is; but restructuring, the start of it, has already shown who is worth what from among those who occupy one post or another.

You have probably sensed, even from the broadcasts—although I, unfortunately, have not been able to see them due to lack of time—that this is what people are dissatisfied with, that there are some people who behave just as they did 3, 4, 5, or 10 years ago; it is like water off a duck's back to them. But I think that such people are living on borrowed time, unless they drastically change their whole standpoint, for I have sensed the mood, and it has already manifested itself during the report-back and election campaign, which I will speak about later, and it will be evident in the formation of the soviets, at meetings with deputies, and so on. Therefore, let us draw the correct conclusions from all this.

In continuing my remarks on my impressions and reflections, I would like to add the following: Let us all the same not surrender in the face of difficulties. In some places, the prevailing mood, so to speak, among the people has been along the lines that nothing is changing here, and that nothing will come of it. Well, to begin with, comrades, restructuring is a serious and profound affair; it concerns the entire country and all spheres; and it is not just making repairs, not just whitewashing and painting and a change of wallpaper, it is fundamental work, profound work to restructure the whole life of our society. That being the case, I think that we cannot harbor illusions—and, by the way, we understood this when we embarked upon the restructuring, and we understand it very well now; the coming years will be the most complicated and difficult. Life confirms this. So, when they tell me so ardently and passionately that the difficulties are mounting up, that there are a lot of problems, then yes, that means that restructuring has become part of life; it is raising all the problems, and they must be tackled. All this is coming down on us, and nobody will solve them for us. Of course, we can see the difficulties as the process of restructuring continues, both in the party itself, in the soviets, in the work of leading cadres, and in labor collectives. We see how difficult it is for the whole of our society to learn the lessons of glasnost and democracy and to learn new approaches in economic affairs. We can see the process of the breakup of established views, as in step with the country's deeper and deeper involvement in the restructuring of our economy based on the principles of radical economic reform. It must be said plainly, comrades, that we are receiving a great education; we are learning to live and to work in a new way, even to build our relationships in a new way. We definitely have to see it through, and cope with the heavy burden of the current stage of restructuring. This applies both to the cadres and to all labor collectives.

I am talking about this for the following reason as well, comrades: That at this crucial time, this watershed, voices have begun to be heard on the threat of restructuring. Some people, not understanding all the complexities of the present problems, call for them to be dealt with at one stroke. What can one say about this? All of this is very far from serious policy, from real life, and it poses a threat to the cause. Whatever motives the champions of such approaches may be guided by, their views, given the reasons I have mentioned, are unacceptable, and should be rejected.

It is with just the same resoluteness that we should reject the views of those who are frightened by the galvanization of political processes, by the democratization of society, by the reforms in the economy, by the cooperatives and all the problems that have emerged from them, by the cleansing of spiritual and moral life, by the interpretation of our history, and so on.

There are also those who see in all this novelty that restructuring brings with it, naturally and not unexpectedly, all but a threat to socialism. The thing that the champions of these extreme views have in common is that both groups are confusing people, sowing doubt about the designs and purposes of restructuring. Any extreme is mistaken from a scientific point of view; and from a political one, it is irresponsible. We will not—I am confident, and you have boosted my confidence in the past few days with your firm position, you Siberians—we will not allow ourselves to be shoved off the path that we have chosen. We have chosen our path, and we must pursue it with a firm and confident step. Here we must have no deviations, or any doubts or vacillations. We know how costly mistakes in the sphere of policy are for the country and the people, and we must be very responsible.

Something that is worth speaking about right now very resolutely is that we must have a radical improvement in practical work in all areas of restructuring. Taking our directions from the long-term goals of restructuring, we must, in a short time, do everything possible to reduce tension in the decisive spheres of the people's life. As you know, we have put forward as issues of the first order food, housing, and supplies of consumer goods and services. In the past few days, conversing with you, I have been convinced that we did the right thing, because all the problems that I have named are acute ones here, too. Along with them there is health and education. Ecological problems are becoming more and more acute. The Central Committee has required of central and local bodies that priority be given to the resolution of these problems.

What is being embarked upon here? Possibilities have been sought for an expansion in housing construction, through centralized sources, the funds of enterprises, and an increase in cooperative and individual construction; this is already having an effect on the rate of housing construction. In 2 and ½ years, 300 million square meters of housing has been commissioned; but this is below what is necessary to meet the goals we have established for the year 2000. It is a most difficult task, but evidently that is how it must be posed, in order to mobilize all the resources of society and accomplish such tasks, because they are connected with the life of every family and every person.

We do have the capabilities, comrades, and this is shown in particular by the experience of various regions. It is necessary that every oblast, republic, and kray seek out its possibilities and put them at the service of expansion of the scale of housing construction.

Even given all the difficulties, almost R6 billion have been allocated above the plan to resolve the processing tasks of health care. Work is developing in this as well, although there are plenty of cases where the funds are not used, comrades. So, it is not enough to simply seek out the funds—although this is no easy matter, given the intensiveness of the whole of our economy—and I would say that it is quite unforgiveable, it is simply outrageous, when funds are allocated for these vital issues such as health, where many problems have accrued, and then the funds are not used. This is no good at all, and it just goes to show, it typifies this or that leading body, in this or that region, and its position.

I would even put it like this: What we must do now, responding to—and this is necessary for the cause—and taking account of the wishes and demands of the working people, is to make people strictly responsible for ensuring that these problems are resolved. All the more so in that the decisions have already been made and the possibilities have already been sought and found, under difficult conditions, for working to eliminate the problems.

The CPSU Central Committee and the government have advocated that in addition to these measures, opportunities should be sought and found at the grassroots for premises occupied by management organs and offices of all sorts to be handed over for health care use. This idea has, I know, been enthusiastically echoed in many places in the country, including in your kray. This work must be continued, and continued everywhere.

We find ourselves in a difficult situation concerning consumer goods, both from the viewpoint of filling the domestic market with a wide range of goods, and from the viewpoint of maintaining the quality of goods. We have now set out on a course of increasing the output of goods at enterprises in all industries, not only light industry. There is a great deal to be done here in the republics, krays, and oblasts themselves. The economic reform has opened up great opportunities for this. And no one can stand on the sidelines and blame others: Each and every person must make his own contribution to this cause.

I would like to point out that over the last 8 months, the output of consumer goods has increased by R13,000 million compared to last year, or 6.3 percent. The volume of paid services has increased by R5.1 billion, or 14.4 percent. But the shortage of many light industry goods and consumer durables remains considerable and acute. And I sensed this over these past few days while talking to inhabitants of both towns and workers' settlements in the countryside.

Furthermore, it is absolutely unacceptable that many enterprises are taking advantage of their financial autonomy to try to improve their financial affairs merely by increasing the output of expensive goods while little is being done to expand the production and range of cheap goods. Some people have quite simply embarked upon an antisocial path, cutting the output of cheap consumer goods. The Central Committee and government regard such phenomena as a manifestation of group egoism, which is impermissible in a socialist society.

Just imagine if everyone embarked upon such a path. For we are all consumers. Then we would encounter this group egoism in the shops, at the shop counters. And this would lead to the sort of situation we are trying to avoid.

I would not want, however, to restrict myself merely to these statements and critical comments. I would like to call upon the managers of all enterprises and upon the labor collectives' soviets to resolve this urgently and to put this matter properly in order.

This evidently shows that, through the central channels, too, certain changes must be made by way of working out and implementing the appropriate economic measures.

Taking into account the real needs, the USSR Government has found it possible to produce, in the remaining 2 years of the 5-year plan period, an additional R24 billion worth of consumer goods. However, in order to see all this fulfilled and implemented, a great deal of work will, of course, be required. Comrades, the food supply remains the most serious day-to-day problem for us; and this is a problem here, too, in Krasnoyarsk Kray. I won't go into the history of this matter now, for its roots go deep. I will only say that for many decades, the agrarian policy, the foundations of which were laid by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the efforts to develop an equivalent exchange between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, were pursued inconsistently, and, during specific periods, they were grossly distorted. This has had grave consequences, both for the agrarian sector itself and for the country's entire economy. The mistakes made in this paramount matter have yet to be corrected. Comrades, this very issue has been raised; I heard Comrade Veprev at the meeting in the scientific center here during the 2d day of my stay in Krasnoyarsk. Today this matter was mentioned, as I understand, by the chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Kolkhoz Council. He depicted the very sad situation that has arisen in the agrarian sector in Krasnoyarsk Kray. True, after the May 1982 Central Committee Plenum, it was possible to make improvements. Agricultural production began increasing gradually, but not rapidly enough to meet the demand. And if one takes into account that during the nearly 5 years prior to this, there had been virtually no increase in output—they had been restoring what had existed prior to the 1975 drought—then one can imagine that this pace does not satisfy us. During the past 5 years, the gross grain harvest rose from 187 million tonnes in 1982 to 211 million in 1987.

But this year we shall probably not maintain this level because there have been decreases in major regions of Siberia, in Kazakhstan, and in the Volga area, even though the harvest has been good in the Ukraine, in the Northern Caucasus, and in Central Russia.

During the same period, meat production has increased from 15.4 million tonnes to 18.9 million tonnes; milk from 91 million tonnes to 104 million tonnes; eggs from 72 billion to 82.7 billion tonnes. The sugar beet harvest has increased by 10 percent, vegetables by 6 percent, and potatoes by 3 percent. That is what has happened since the May plenum.

So, even that plenum, with which we were on the whole not satisfied—it was addressed to the kolkhoz and sovkhoz—met with some response from the rural workers. Has this removed the strain regarding foodstuffs? No, it has not. Comrades, life itself has made us realize the necessity for a radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside. One can only say that we are decades late in doing this. There we have it; one of the greatest political mistakes.

The main thing here is to change radically people's attitude toward the use of land and other production resources. We have become convinced that this can be achieved best and most rapidly on the basis of various forms of contracting, particularly leasing. The extensive introduction of contracting and, particularly, leasing, is the central task. It must be tackled everywhere. The conditions have now been created in our country for that. I am referring to the legal and economic conditions. It is now up to our cadres. We have already accumulated much experience in this area.

It is specifically leasing—and this must be said straight out—which baldly raises the question of the quality of specialists and their value. Under the new conditions, intelligent engineers, agronomists, livestock specialists, economists, and accountants are given the opportunity to realize their potential and their knowledge. Many of them have already become leaders of collectives working on the basis of lease contracting.

I would like to take advantage of this meeting, and of the fact that this theme has already been discussed here, to appeal to all specialists—not just the ones in this kray but throughout the country—to all specialists who love the earth and the work of the grain farmer to support the transfer of rural workers to the new progressive forms of economic management, and to provide them with material and moral support. I must even say that much depends today on this approach, on how the changeover to lease contracting goes.

I must share with you yet another observation. In general, restructuring of economic relations in the countryside is proceeding on a broad front, in a fundamental and well thought-out manner, in those places where it receives the support of party and local soviet bodies. That means that rural Communists during the report-back and elections must now consider all of these questions very closely. It must be determined what should be done to clear the way for leasing and contracting and what cadres are needed to accomplish this task. Comrades, this is simply a vital necessity.

I would like to raise at our meeting a question which lately has been quite frequently and, I would say, critically, discussed. This is the question of the quantity of foodstuffs we consume. Some people believe that our country is currently consuming a smaller amount of meat and dairy products than it has in the past, and that in the past there were better supplies and that the foodstuffs existed in great quantity and with a large range of choice.

Probably many of you feel the same way. Isn't that so? Well, maybe not, still...[Gorbachev laughs]...probably your views are quite divided. But there are some people who even claim that we are now consuming less meat than in 1927, on the eve of collectivization. But how are things really? This question has caught on so much now; it seems to me that all the newspapers and magazines are writing about it. Well, we have to go back to 1927. That year the per capita consumption of meat—only we don't know what consumption was, as they were private, personal plots then, before collectivization—per capita meat production amounted to 30 kg and milk 206 kg. In 1965, the per capita consumption of meat and meat products was 40.6 kg, and, in addition, 12.6 kg of fish was consumed per person. The per capita consumption of milk and dairy products then amounted to 251 kg. That was in 1965. In 1987, the corresponding figures looked like this: meat 64 kg; milk 341 kg; and 18 kg for fish. Incidentally, 4 kg of butter per person was consumed in 1965; in 1987 the figure was 7.2 kg. To complete the picture, I will tell you that per capita consumption of eggs in 1965 amounted to 124 eggs, whereas last year it was 272.

So what's the matter? Why do we still have an impression of plentifully stocked shops in past years? And today nothing but a shortage of products is being experienced! At that time, I was second secretary of the Stavropol Party Kraykom. I was responsible for the food and light industries—well, and others, too—and one of the problems that was being tackled then, and anyone who worked on economic and local soviet work at that time will recall, was the problem of where to put the butter. The butter went rancid, the sour cream went bad, and the fat content was reduced to only 30 percent to preserve stocks. But did you not notice? Twenty-four kg less of meat, nearly 100 kg less milk, 6 kg less fish and nearly half as much butter was consumed then. What's the matter, comrades? Here we must bear in mind the increased purchasing power. In 1965, only 4 percent of the country's population had a per capita income of 100 rubles or more. Four percent of families enjoyed that level of income. But now the figure is 67 percent. Consequently, many millions of people have had access to high-quality food products, something which was simply beyond their reach previously. So everything used to be on the shelves. During these years, the urban population has grown significantly, and the process of decreasing the number of peasants has also continued. And all this, in a sense, has aggravated the problems.

To understand the whole situation you have to bear in mind that during these years a serious gap has evolved between the rate of growth of foodstuffs and other goods production on the one hand, and the rate of growth in the population's monetary income on the other. Consumer goods production and growth in services have fallen significantly behind the growth in monetary income. That is why what we need is not simply to jack up, to increase wages so that at a building site they set the daily quota at R20, and so on, and get even more bonuses on top of that. All those are rubles. But if they are not based on an increase in labor productivity, an increase in goods, they turn into mere pieces of paper.

After all, comrades, rubles we could print—whatever quantity we need, we could print. That does not require as much paper as the press; we could find it. But what does that mean, if we look at the crux of this issue seriously?

It means that money was issued that was not tied to the end product. So what conclusion follows from this? To increase food and consumer goods, of course, to overcome the shortages. We have to move ahead thoroughly with the production of agricultural produce and consumer goods.

As far as food is concerned, three urgent tasks come to the fore here. First, as I have already said, we have to change radically the economic relations in the countryside. And that means to open up the way everywhere for collective contracting, especially to leasing, and to work on the social reorganization of the countryside on a wide front in order to get the people who work there today to settle there. I will be frank: Those people who are still living there now—if we create living conditions for them, ennoble the life of the rural toiler—are sufficient, more than sufficient, taking increased labor productivity into account. But we must not lose time. That's one point.

Second, to find and transfer to the agrarian sector additional material and technical resources. You, for example, have proceeded to make agreements between industrial enterprises and weak farms. And I have already heard figures mentioned here on how much this or that enterprise is contributing to creating the necessary conditions for this or that collective or sovkhoz in order both to provide a different way of life for the people and to transform production.

And I thought—I did not tell anyone about it, but now I recall it—I thought: But we do find the money, we do resolve tasks in industry, in construction, and we find the money to invest in a specific collective or sovkhoz. So why was it that we could not find it? It does exist. All these were things that stubbornly held us back, you see.

One of the former leaders has said the following: We have given land to the peasant for perpetual use, so our peasant is in perpetual debt to us. That was the kind of policy that existed. And now the peasant and the land are boomeranging on the whole country, on all of us. Drastic amendments must be made.

But lease contracting has already made possible a different use of the existing potential; it is already possible to make more products with this potential than are made today. I have cited the data on...[Gorbachev corrects himself]...that Comrade Veprev's farm, which I have known about for a long time, yields better results per capita and per 100 hectares with fewer production assets. But look at what leasing brings: The sovkhoz of Zybinskiy—incidentally, the name of the director of this Zybinskiy farm cropped up somewhere yesterday. He shared his thoughts on how they worked for 3 years on switching their farm to contracting. But look at it. That is why when they say this thing is in short supply, and that, and that, one should be cautious. As soon as those at the Zybinskiy farm started using leasing, people took specific plots for a number of years—and they are responsible for them in accordance with the lease contract; their livelihoods depend on that—everything changed in a radical way. They get yields of 46 quintals in Tula Oblast. That is the first thing.

The second thing: They had 48 vehicles. They could not cope with the volume of agricultural work and they recruited people from towns. And after they leased the vehicles, how many vehicles do you think they have now? Eighteen, and they cope. They had 56 tractors; 30 are left now, and they are coping. There were 40 people on the board of that sovkhoz. How many are left? Fifteen people, including the cleaning woman, the cashier, and the driver—not a single team leader, nothing. They are managing everything on their own; they are leaders themselves and they are keeping all the books, too.

See how things turned around. The production cost went down and so on—in 3 years, in 3 years of work. With a different potential, different things are achieved. What are they based on: on man becoming the master of the land. He is attached to it through the end result; he knows that this is where the future is; this is where his life and his income are. Then he gives everything to it.

Third, we have to resolve without delay the task of transporting, storing, and processing the harvested crop. Here is where we can get the quickest returns. I asked Comrade Surin: If you were able to preserve today everything that is harvested, grown in the fields, and produced on the livestock farms in Krasnoyarsk Kray, what would be the gain in products? He said 30 to 40 percent; that is what the losses amount to. Comrades, what are we going to increase production for if that is how we are going to transport, harvest, store, and process? It is simply disgraceful.

We have now adopted a program to modernize this whole field. We held a conference, adopted important decisions, and involved the entire engineering sector, including the defense sectors of the industry. We have allocated everything for light industry and the food industry. It turned out that we in practice had been producing practically none of this equipment. We have bought licenses and we are making all that now; it is on its way out. In 2 to 3 years everything will change radically. We designed this program for 7 years and allocated R76 billion. Now we are going to be solving this.

But why did I decide to talk about this? First, to remind you of it and second, we've worked for 1 year and we see that one ministry has not fulfilled its tasks; another collective has not coped with its task. That means that they are again starting to make a mess of major decisions. It won't work like that; we cannot do things like that. I think that democracy presupposes greater responsibility, greater organization, a higher level of awareness, and not empty talk or a free-for-all. We need the kind of democracy where a man feels good in our country; where he can ask about things that concern him, try to get them solved, and consult with people; where he always has the opportunity to ask questions of the leadership; where he can elect those whom he trusts; and so on. There—that is democracy.

That is democracy and not simply chatter and demagogy, when it can be on any topic! [Gorbachev hits lecturn]

We will be holding people accountable! This applies to everyone.

In this connection, now is the appropriate time to move on to the issue of efficiency. More efficiency is required, comrades, more concreteness, greater competence, more professionalism. By the way, many understood this long ago, as early as the beginning of restructuring. And they have already done a great deal in approaching these new tasks in a businesslike, practical manner. This is not a matter of individual cases, or even dozens of cases; rather, it is a mass phenomenon. Throughout the country, healthy forces, energetic forces, restructuring forces have sprung into action.

Take, for instance, the Nizhnekamsk petrochemical association. If I remember correctly, 27,000 people are working in this association in Tataria. They have adopted full financial autonomy, self-financing. Look what changes have been brought about in people's attitudes and how this is having an effect on all matters! They have mastered the production of a new progressive brand of synthetic rubber, which has made it possible to raise substantially the quality of tires and to lower their material inputs. The collective has begun marketing its product worldwide and has started trading successfully, bringing turnover this year up to R58 million, 22 million of which is in the form of convertible currency. Cooperation has sprung up with an FRG firm for producing a product that is in short supply, and which will make it possible in the near future to increase exports by R20 million convertible rubles per annum. This is one association. What volumes they are shifting!

In 1 and ½ years, average monthly wages have risen by 27 percent. Let them increase as much as they like!

I was asked by someone: How is it that with wage rates out there of some 2 or 3.7 rubles, my own wages have not increased? And I said: Tell me, are you doing more work now than you were before the changeover to the new rate, or are you carrying the same volume of work as before? He responded: Well, I am doing the same work.

If you say that you are doing just the same amount of work, then why should you be paid more? Well, why, comrades? If you raise your productivity, you can receive an increase like 27 percent in 18 months. I would vote for and support 50 percent. If anyone is opposed to this, I would defend that collective. Work should be paid for on merit. Even more should be paid for good work. Outstanding work should receive outstanding material encouragement. That is socialism.

But, understand, that when the lazy, loafing, irresponsible, and sloppy person wants his income and his pay to be the same as the leading worker, saying that the leading worker is working and should provide him with a pay increase, this will not do. This is what has led to even advanced workers losing interest in work. But now financial autonomy, self-financing, these new methods are lifting everything up, so to speak, and making everything clear. I will have some more to say about that. This question is very important. We have become so accustomed to excessive wage leveling.

This collective, this association, is also successfully resolving many social questions; but I am not simply going to list them in detail. Or take another example. It is interesting that this plant used to be one that was lagging behind. The Avdeyevka plant, a major coke-chemicals enterprise in Donetsk Oblast, was in a real mess for over 10 years. One-fifth of its fixed assets fell out of use. There was a shortage and a high turnover of cadres—absenteeism, in other words—it was a real scourge of a plant. But then, 3 years ago, Gennadiy Vasiliyevich Ostrovskiy took over as head of this collective. The new director put emphasis on party organization, on people, on maintaining constant communication with all sections, and on glasnost. This helped him to discover the real reasons for the shortcomings and to involve the whole collective in drawing up measures to improve the situation. The whole life of the plant—both production and social life—underwent renewal. They began collectively to discuss vital questions for this enterprise. The collective put forward new leaders for the shops and sections, those whom they considered to be real leaders. Comrades, everything changed. Not everything has been resolved there yet; but in 2 and ½ years, labor productivity increased by 23 percent and profits of over R90 million were received.

Obviously, you have heard of the achievements of the intersector scientific-technical complex for ophthalmalogical microsurgery. That is from a different sphere, so to say. It has been operating on principles of financial autonomy and lease-contracting for over 2 years.

I don't want to repeat what everyone knows. I shall merely stress that the greater volume of work that is being performed by the collective and—most importantly—the rise in the quality of treatments and reduction in postoperation complications have become possible because the people's attitude toward work has changed. Research has expanded and there are more inventions. Last year, 64 licenses were sold by this complex. More than 60 contracts were concluded for the export of products and treatment techniques amounting to more than R80,000. The collective has organized the production of optical instruments and appliances and has opened a workshop for marketing lenses and frames to the population. Now they have decided to take on a sovkhoz that is operating at a loss. Just look at how this empire is growing. The salaries of workers at the scientific-technological complex have doubled; they have doubled. Possibilities have appeared for implementing major social development plans.

Unfortunately, I have to say that alongside the achievements and profound changes that are taking place in thousands of production collectives, old approaches and work that is lacking in initiative are encountered very often, both with regard to new methods of management and to scientific-technical progress. It is interesting and noteworthy that all the frontranking enterprises that become financially autonomous begin more rapidly to look for an alliance with science. They have to step up their production; they have to step up their profits and improve their position. Financial autonomy pushes them into doing this, while previously they simply rejected science. Science provided research and that was all.

Now the work is different, and so is the state of affairs with finances and with income—this is natural. There are enterprises that are up to their ears in debt. But what does the ministry continue to do? In the old style, they take from the frontrankers—they continue to find them somehow—and give help to the others. I would like to say the following in this connection. Of course, comrades, a socialist society is not indifferent to the fate of the individual worker. But, at the same time, we should not adapt our economic reform to the parasitic moods of those who do not wish to change their attitude to support the cause. We must grasp this firmly. We must strictly carry out in life the principle of socialism—from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor. We must resolutely eliminate the establishment of unwarranted pay and bonus levels, the payment of bonuses simply for coming to work without taking into account the quantity and quality of a worker's labor. When I hear that in one collective or another, there have been no fundamental changes, that there has been no restructuring, then I can say only one thing: Such enterprises should shift more rapidly to financial autonomy and, even better, to lease contracting.

Here's an illustration for you to reinforce this wish. Year after year losses in the (?Butovo) building materials combine near Moscow were increasing. It went so far that at the beginning of the year, the decision was made to close the enterprise, to liquidate it as loss-making. Then the collective decided to lease the enterprise for a period of 8 years. Several months have elapsed, comrades, please note: several months. And look what is happening. The output of marketable products—and these are construction materials—has increased by 30 percent. That took place exclusively as a result of increases in the productivity of labor. As far as I can remember, the number of workers has been cut by one-third. The fuel and power consumption has decreased. Instead of the former losses, R500,000 have been received in profit over an 8-month period. As for average wages, they have gone up by 50 rubles per month over the 8-month period.

More than 270 enterprises, organizations of industry, construction, transport, and other branches are already working on lease contracting in the Moscow Oblast. Three hundred and fifty such collectives are active in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the oblast. In a word, restructuring is in progress where it is received in a serious way and where it is conducted in a real way. It is bearing fruit. On the contrary, nothing is improving where they count on someone else to do the restructuring for them.

Restructuring is, of course, a difficult cause and one that demands great exertion and great labor efforts—all this is correct, comrades. But one should also not expect any benefits to be delivered on a plate, as they say, without efforts. No one will have it the same as Gogol's Patsyuk [character from "Evenings at a Farm Near Dikanka"] who only had to open his mouth, and dumplings dipped themselves in sour cream and flew straight into it. But there are people like that among us. And they, probably, think that the time has come for that, with restructuring.

We should all see well and clearly the indissoluble link of changes in people's living conditions with the practical work on restructuring. Work is the basis for riches, and restructuring underscores the essense and justice of that statement even more. Only through restructuring will we achieve the implementation of our plans in the field of social policies. For these plans are based on radical changes in the economy, their transfer from the rut of extensive development onto the rails of intensification.

Here is another illustration of the direct link between fundamental changes in production and people's living standards. The Sumy machine-building association imeni Frunze, the initiator of work according to the new principles, has been operating for 3 years on the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing. Labor productivity has risen by 35 percent, and profits by 60 percent. The average monthly wage increased here...[Gorbachev changes thought]...did not increase, but is 20 percent above the average wage for the sector. The earned income was used, last year alone, to build 16,500 square meters of housing, a polyclinic, and a school, and to resolve many other social problems. The collective is thinking of ways to take things further and is now preparing proposals for the transfer for leasing the whole enterprise. A collective wants to lease a major machine-building association! So people are restructuring themselves.

In other words, the solution of social problems is inconceivable without the fundamental transformation of the whole of our national economy according to the principles of radical economic reform. It is important to stress that thought once again, since some of our people have rather strong expectations of an improvement in living standards quite separate from any rise in labor productivity, growth of production, or the quality of output, and quite separate from each individual's personal contribution. I have been aware of this over the last few days while I have been on Krasnoyarsk soil. You, too, have such sentiments. Let's say it's just a few people. That's not the decisive factor. People want, nevertheless, to work and to restructure themselves and are in a determined mood. But that feeling exists all the same.

As we implement the principles of social justice, we are obliged, in the sphere of distribution as well, to give resolute effect to the demand: There can be no leveling down and no living off someone else in our society. These concepts are alien to socialism and must be absolutely eradicated. In that sense, I share your thought. Young lads must work, toil, and accomplish things together with the people. And their parents have to think about what they are preparing, whom they are preparing and bringing up, adopting such an attitude toward their offspring.

Alongside this, comrades, it is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against violations of all kinds in the distribution of material benefits.

Our public correctly asks about stepping up the struggle against abuses in office, against corruption, bribe-taking, pilfering, and black marketeering. Here the bodies of control and of law and order should act more resolutely and effectively. The people should become involved in this struggle in a thorough manner. We should expose all those phenomena and eliminate them. The party and local soviet bodies, as well as all leading cadres, should pursue a principled line in these matters.

I personally welcome the fact that the kraykom has now decided to come to grips with the question of the distribution in the kray of everything that is supplied here for the kray's population. The foodstuffs commission that has been set up and which is headed by Comrade Valeriy Ivanovich Terebenko, the chairman of the kray executive comittee, is also dealing with it.

Speaking of distribution questions, I would like to stress the need, within the framework of economic reform, to bring about greater dependence on the work standard in agriculture for the food supplies of the republics, krays, and oblasts. You see, comrades, in general we now have introduced into this matter what is also an original form of financial autonomy and self-financing, on a regional level. We say: Here is the task set for deliveries for 5 years. It does not increase in the course of the 5-year plan. Everything that you produce after you have supplied the union or republican stocks is yours, no matter how much you produce.

I must say that that has acted as a strong incentive to many people. Take a look at the Volgograd Oblast. I recall how acute issues were there, especially in the course of one of the election campaigns; how people put those questions of food supplies. At the moment, a whole set of measures has been put into effect in this sphere. They embrace farming and livestock breeding and new technology and management methods. In 3 years the increase in meat production has amounted to almost 70,000 tonnes, or 24 percent, and in milk production 132,000 tonnes, or 17 percent. All the targets are being met. But what did the oblast get out of it? For the oblast, things turned out like this: Over 2 years the market consumption of meat increased by 33,000 tonnes, or by 40 percent; consumption of dairy products increased by 95,000 tonnes, or by 17 percent. On sale in the retail trade at state prices there is pork, poultry, a wide assortment of dairy products, and semiprepared foods. A big contribution to this is being made by the cooperative sector and subsidiary private plots.

Take Lipetsk Oblast, where similar processes are occurring. Here, in the past 2 years, the stepping up of agricultural production has led to substantial increases; people have begun to cope better with targets, and they have started to keep more for themselves. As a result, in 2 years per capita consumption has increased by 9 kg for meat and 32 kg for milk.

The stepping up of production has made it possible to improve considerably the trade in meat, dairy products, vegetables, and potatoes in Tselinograd Oblast. For 2 years now, the population of Kharkov Oblast has been supplied with livestock produce without union republican subsidies. The food supply situation is improving in the Voronezh, Tula, Tambov, Penza, Tomsk, and Kaliningrad Oblasts, and in the Stavropol and Altay Krays. I have already mentioned—and would just like to list them to complete the picture—Belorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and other regions.

What characterizes all these republics, krays, and oblasts above all is an integrated approach, combining both the utilization of reserves for the intensification of land and animal husbandry and the fruits of contracting, leasing, and other financial-autonomy forms of activity and with a broad coordination of public sector and private farming on a contractual basis.

Much also accrues here from the widespread development of collective horticulture and market gardening. After all, we have adopted a decision removing all limitations: All who so wish, should get land.

But why is it that elsewhere things are going differently with regard to the resolution of the food question? We should all find an answer together. I think that it is not just a question of the difficulties that kolkhozes and sovkhozes have had in a number of zones in the country in the past and now—particularly the non-Chernozem Zone, if you take the RSFSR. Everything is not at all simple there, of course. But many of the oblasts where things have now gone well are situated in the same zones, and they experience and come up against the same difficulties.

Take the Orel and Kaluga Oblasts. Only recently they were in an exceedingly difficult situation. Nevertheless, things there have begun to change for the better, and the changes are quite energetic. I am certain that in the near future substantial changes will come about in oblasts such as Rostov and Kalinin—where Comrade Tatarchuk is first secretary—and in difficult oblasts such as Novgorod, Pskov, and Kirov. At any rate, much is now being done there to bring this about.

The most important thing, all the same—and it is important for everyone to bear this in mind, and this is where my answer lies—is the work of cadres. I am referring primarily to cadres on kolkhozes and sovkhozes and, to no lesser extent, to cadres in party and local soviet bodies and their stance, their attitude to their duties, the amomunt of care they take, and, finally, their ability to master new work methods.

The working people will follow and support those who are enthusiastic about their work, those who rely on people and consult with them and those who are just in their demands. By the way, people have a great dislike of weak people. They know that a great cause requires character, will, and abilities. It is important here not to hurt people's feelings but to consult with them and show concern for them. People can forgive much if these things are done.

During my conversations, I am often asked how improvements can be made in the situation in labor collectives in towns and rayons, okrugs, oblasts, and krays so that restructuring may accelerate more rapidly and be accompanied by positive changes. I was asked this question at all my meetings in Krasnoyarsk. My answer is as follows: The conditions created by the radical economic reform, democratization, and glasnost open up possibilities for resolving all urgent problems, including the cadres problem. It is just necessary to take advantage of the opportunities and do all of this.

During the report-back and elections, starting from the meetings of party groups and going as far as oblast and kray party conferences, it is necessary that Communists focus their attention on problems of restructuring, all the important questions of the life of labor collectives, and the attitude adopted toward their work and their duties by Communists and especially Communists who are in senior positions.

Communists should assess from positions of principle the work of party bodies and their leaders. It is necessary to use this assessment as a basis from which to approach the formation of elective bodies and leading bodies of party primary organizations, as well as those in rayons, towns, krays and oblasts—from positions of principle. Already, 2 or 3 years of restructuring have shown what each person is worth. Now it is on the basis of this assessment that one should make a choice and place one's stake on those people who accept restructuring, who are ready to move it forward, and who have what it takes to do this.

Without waiting for a congress and for changes in the party rules, relying on the decisions of the conference, we have said: Introduce these principles now during the report-back and election campaign.

And we have this. Oleg Semenovich tells me, look how it is; the comrades tell me the meetings are weak, as though it were all taking place 10 years ago, under those circumstances. We still have all that. But, I have already repeated this figure, and today I have checked it. Yes, indeed, Communists have changed 40... [Gorbachev corrects himself] 63 percent of secretaries of workshop party organizations. Heavy demands are being made. And I think that 40 percent of those in primary party organizations have been replaced. And so the Communists now have, so to speak, a more responsible attitude toward all this.

Comrades, several times in my speech I have emphasized the idea that the expansion of the rights of labor collectives, of oblasts, krays, and republics, is accompanied by an enhancement of their responsibility for the resolution of the working people's vital problems. There is something else I must also discuss—the very close link between all sections of the country's national economy, not only at the level of industries, but also at the level of regions—republics, krays, and oblasts. If there are disruptions anywhere, and something is not right, the entire country feels it immediately. I am not exaggerating. We have a national economic complex that is unified and very strongly linked. Disruptions and delays are felt all the more in such big regions as your kray; the entire country feels it when something is not right here with you. Even today, the kray occupies one of the key positions in the country's economy. One-third of the all-union production of copper is concentrated here, more than half of the nickel output, most of the platinum and cobalt, and a considerable volume of aluminum and timber—that is, those primary materials without which modern scientific and technological progress, and the manufacture of the most varied products, is unthinkable. And what is particularly important is that the kray is today, and must be in the future, one of the country's largest energy bases. I am looking at Comrade Mayorets—by the way, all the ministers are here.

They are listening to what you are saying and to what I am saying. The whole country, comrades, is vitally interested in further building up the kray's industrial potential. That is what led to more than R33 billion of state capital investment being put into the development of the kray's economy over the past 12 years. More than R33 billion of capital investment!

Major territorial production complexes, such as those at Sayan and Kansk-Achinsk, which are of national economic significance, are being developed here. The names of new cities—Divnogorsk, Lesosibirsk, Norilsk, Sayanogorsk—have become a firm part of the people's consciousness. They personify the work done by the many thousands who were pioneers in the development of Siberia.

Much has been done, comrades. The working people's achievements are considerable. As they say, it is not without purpose that the Siberian people of Krasnoyarsk have lived or live now. Thanks to that work, the kray has a powerful scientific and production potential today. It is—to put it bluntly—a good springboard for spurting ahead. On Krasnoyarsk soil, many good scientific and production collectives, well-known throughout the entire country, have been formed and are already working successfully. But comrades, not even your kray has avoided negative phenomena in the economy, something which has led to a substantial reduction in the efficiency of the production potential developed here. And what arouses particular alarm are the disproportions that have become distinctly outlined in the development of linked industries and in the pace of the growth of the production sphere and the social complex.

In essence, there is a danger that the major program for the kray's development until 1990 will not be implemented. The levels of production for excavators, electrical engineering items, chemical fibers, cellulose, and other industrial products envisaged for 1985 have not been achieved even now. But they should have been reached as early as 1985. The country has been experiencing this lag in output with a value of hundreds of millions of rubles. A great deal has not been produced because of prolonged periods of construction and failures to meet targets for commissioning capacities. And even the capacities that have been commissioned are frequently not used in any better fashion. According to a survey conducted by the Goskomstat of the USSR, last year 60 percent of projects built in 1981-87 were being exploited at only two-thirds of their capacity.

This has led to a loss of R300 million in output alone. Forty percent of the capacity of heavy excavator works has been used, only 15 percent of the capacity to produce subassemblies and components for tractors and agricultural machinery at the Nazarovo plant, a quarter of the capacity to produce spare parts for vehicles at the vehicle trailer works, and so on.

The timber procured in the kray is not being used efficiently. Per cubic meter of timber, 41 percent less cardboard, 61 percent less pulp, 77 percent less paper, and 86 percent less chipboard is manufactured here than is produced around the country.

Comrade Isayev, your fellow townsman, is also an academician here. He now heads a union-level organization in the country. His concern is the forest. One must investigate it then. Here they were probably counting on cutting down the forests, thinking it did not matter how. We must look into this, look into it. I have already referred to this more than once, it was all in the conversation. Comrade Astafyev said he was very worried about the forests of Krasnoyarsk Kray, the fate of the forests.

Over the past few days I have heard a good many comments about shortcomings in the supply of foodstuffs. But, comrades, the kray has a greater potential than others. Here in your kray you have exactly twice the national average of ploughed land per capita. Given such industrial might, given the volume of capital investment, surely agriculture should not look the way it does. The only thing I can say to them is that here, too, at the request of the kray leadership, we have been examining everything thoroughly for the last 18 months. As a matter of fact, I have come to finally complete, to check all the information and the way things were put by the kraykom and the kray ispolkoms. I have had many conversations with Comrade Oleg Semenovich Shenin on these issues, and I hope the present leadership will realize very profoundly the problems and the situation the kray finds itself in. This is a very important prerequisite if things are to change for the better here. But I will continue the talk. I will return to this subject later.

In the past 17 years, comrades, capital investment in agriculture has grown by a factor of 2.3, basic production assets by a factor of 3.6, the power available per worker by a factor of 2.5, the supply of fertilizers by a factor of 6.5, production output by 22 percent. Twenty-two percent. The increase in grain production in the kray amounted to only 6 percent, and the potato harvest actually decreased. Something you should all be particularly concerned about, comrades: Look at the fall in production that has occurred on the population's private subsidiary plots: 42 percent of the plots of kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers have no cows, 44 percent have no pigs, and a quarter have no animals at all. Yesterday I was in Shushenskoye. The car stopped. There were people on both sides of me. I talked with those on my left. The noise, the uproar—no food! Comrades, look around you: what land, what a region, what sun. Food used to be sent to central Russia from here. I will tell you more about that, mind you.

Should we not, I was saying over there, suppose someone brings you your morning egg already fried, and you sit and just shout about what you lack? You must be master of the land, you must get down to work and make it habitable. How? Well, we went over to the other side and a group of women said: You know, Mikhail Sergeyevich, this is how it is done, just to let them know. Whoever wants to work, whoever wants to be busy, has cattle, has everything and even sells the surplus. The ones who shout are the ones who do not want to do anything.

Even in the countryside they do not want to engage in rural labor. In such a vast kray only 100,000 piglets were sold to the public last year, and for you it should be 300 or 400 thousand. How many? [Unidentified speaker says "400" and continues with some indistinct remarks]

I can imagine. I used to study these problems specifically. The kray's entire food industry is in an impermissibly neglected state. Look at what is being done, look at what Krasnoyarsk imports now: biscuits, baranki [bread rings], pryaniki [honey cakes], and rusks are imported into Krasnoyarsk Kray, comrades. Eh? [Unidentified speaker makes indistinct remarks] Popsicles are brought in. In the kray, reckoning per head of urban population, the production of Siberian pelmeni [meat dumplings] is 1 and ½ times less than it is in Ivanovo, Kostroma, and other oblasts of Russia [words indistinct].

When explaining the food situation, the distinctive features of Siberia, its character and climatic conditions, and the difficulties are frequently raised. I do not think one can ignore that. It would not be objective. I believe one must always conduct a realistic conversation and not simply apply pressure indiscriminately. No! But at the same time, comrades... [Gorbachev changes thought] Besides, the current year reminds us that work is not that easy in Siberia.

But, comrades, long-time residents will, after all, probably remember Minusinsk apples, watermelons, tomatoes, honey, and Siberian kalachs [type of white bread]. History records the following fact: Increased charges were levied on imports of Siberian food into the central regions of Russia, which came into force at the so-called Chelyabinsk boundary [chelyabinskiy perelom], for they were too competitive with what was being done in the center of Russia. Duties were imposed on such foods. But now you have to impose duties so that food is not taken out. [subdued laughter]

It is absolutely impossible to understand why, given such expanses, you are unable to satisfy the needs of town dwellers, to quickly give land to all those who want it, and to develop orchards and market gardening. These matters must be cleared from the agenda in 1-2 years, and you should help people provide themselves with huts and roads. Let people relax and work and supplement the food reserves. That is even wonderful! The entire country is now doing this. So, it is possible to grow a great many things in your region. I am not even talking about animal husbandry, for which the scope is especially wide.

By the way, many are proving this convincingly with their deeds, and I, for instance, referred to the Nazarovskiy Sovkhoz. There are others. Yesterday I also chatted with the managers of two farms in Shushenskoye. They are doing interesting work and achieving good, splendid results. It is possible to work; no one can deny that.

But what has taken place and continues to take place in the countryside of Karasnoyarsk Kray is, comrades, a very alarming phenomenon. If one correlates this not only with the fact that today food, the food problem, food supplies, in the kray are tight, but if one also takes into account that we are proposing to move the productive forces of this kray, what will they rely on? Food is needed, housing is needed, and so on. I will not list them out. These are all basic problems, so to speak. As for the fact that the kray has found itself in such a situation, it must be said outright, and I would put it like this: I would blame the central planning bodies for 50 percent, no less. On this score both our ministries and our departments (?have been involved); we had a major discussion involving scientists and ministers on 13 September in the branch of the Siberian department of the Academy of Sciences. I think this is only the start of the discussion. We will continue it. I think we will be organizing a discussion on this subject in the Politburo as well.

First of all, we must analyze why the kray's economy continues to move through inertia mainly on an extensive basis. Very weak use, comrades, is being made of scientific developments. Problems of accelerating scientific and technological progress and modernizing production and ecological problems, which have literally begun to grip Krasnoyarsk, Norilsk, and towns and settlements in the Kansk-Achinsk area, are being tackled weakly.

I feel that we should have asked a great deal and we have asked a great deal of Siberian science and the USSR Academy of Sciences. Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk is here. I speak once again in your presence of the fact that Krasnoyarsk Kray in the scale of its projects needs a strong science discipline. I repeat, it needs strong science. It is not right when scientists, or rather, when there are already many problems crying out here, for scientists to promise to examine them only in the near future, so to speak, or even to say that particular problems will take decades to resolve. I think there is a need to concentrate efforts, a need for equipment, and a need, if necessary, for Moscow's assistance in coordinating certain forces. But it is necessary to help throughly develop the work of the Siberian department branch and also to involve Moscow science in the problems that must be solved now.

You know, so as to conclude this section on the kray on a positive note nevertheless, so to speak, I will say this: We have reached the conclusion that there is an opportunity with regard to the problems of the agro- industrial complex that have been raised by the kray party committee and which it is now working out, for them to be given more depth. In doing so, account should be taken of the discussions at the meeting with economic leaders in the science center, and they should be thought through. This will allow a decision to be made on what can be done now, what the kray must do, and what must be taken into consideration in the 13th 5-Year Plan to consolidate the countryside regarding social development. At the present time it is already necessary for all industrial organizations, and the managers of many of them are here, to help out and for construction organizations to support this complex and get it on its feet. That is the first point.

The second point concerns the housing problem. Work carried out with the participation of Comrade Yuriy Petrovich Batalin, a deputy of Comrade Ryzhkov's, who is also here, shows that it is possible within the next 3 years—that is right, is it not?—[unidentified speaker says: "Yes"] within the next 3 years to increase the construction base here to a scale where it will be able to provide for the additional construction of about a million square meters of housing. In other words, it will be able to achieve a volume of 3 million square meters of housing construction. At that point, there will appear to be some progress with the problems, and by the year 2000 it will be possible to resolve them.

The third point deals with ecology. In ecology there are difficult problems related to basic science. As I said, this aspect should be fortified through the academy. But there are problems of a current nature which need only...[Gorbachev changes thought]...for which there are technological and technical solutions already. It is just necessary to finance and resolve these problems. On a specific level, a program like this must be set up for Krasnoyarsk Kray. We will (?confirm) this and take it under our control. It will be possible to remedy and improve the situation (?in a matter of years).

Finally, many questions related to various problems, some of which are important but perhaps local. We will try to act as follows: The kray itself must decide on everything that it is responsible for working out. Instructions wil be given for those things that require the consideration of the center. I think this will give support to the kray party organization, which is now beginning work. I would like to wish it success and say bluntly that they can rely on the support of the center, but they must work differently. For it is the past position of the kraykom and krayispolkom that has in many respects determined these deformations in the development of the kray's economy. The social side has remained behind; enterprises used to move forward, and now they do not work and have failed to be commissioned on time. Millions and billions [not further specified] are frozen, and we are not getting a return, you understand. Yet people have not been provided for. The destruction of nature has begun. All the ministers here who have something to do with the tackling of these issues will be personally responsible to the Politburo and the government for correcting these matters.

In general comrades, I will say this directly, [Gorbachev chuckles] that you have, of course, plenty of worries and a great deal of work. You have an enormous responsibility to the country. But the people, too, can tackle things, and I have sensed the Siberian character that has shown itself these days. The people's desire to (?perform deeds) and introduce changes can be seen. These measures, this support, these decisions, this removal and undoing of difficult problems is necessary. What is happening in Krasnoyarsk Kray and what it needs convinces me still more how vitally we all need restructuring.

Restructuring—how many critics there have been of that policy, and still are! Many of them use light ammunition, but, you know, now is a time when everyone is building glasnost in his own way. There are also... [Gorbachev changes thought] The main thing, I think, is that glasnost and democracy are our tremendous achievement, and in this we will not yield a millimeter. On the contrary, we will step it up, set economic and political reform in motion—while developing democratization—setting in motion the processes of democratizing the party. Yes. But some people are passing judgment very lightly, so to speak, on major questions. We must also bear this in mind.

I want to wish you success in your great affairs. [applause]

I have decided to say something about international affairs here, in Krasnoyarsk. For whatever internal development plans we might discuss, we must constantly correlate them to external conditions, both from the viewpoint of security and from that of economic and other links with our close and distant neighbors.

It is probably appropriate at this point on this latitude to talk briefly about, and to look at the situation on the Asian Continent and in the basin of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. A little over 2 years ago in Vladivostok we invited everyone to consider a program for restructuring relations in this gigantic and most rapidly developing part of the world, whose number of inhabitants recently passed 3 billion. This program was later expanded and made more specific. In particular, it was further developed and its philosophical-political foundation—I would say—was broadened in the Delhi Declaration signed in Delhi.

Comrades, this was not all improvisation. We made a comprehensive interpretation of the lessons of the past and of the present realities, and took account of the ideas and initiatives of others, including, of course, those of the socialist countries of Asia. And in working out our proposals, which would be acceptable to everyone, we sought an equilibrium in the balance of interests. We gave top priority to the resolution of conflict situations—knots—and to curbing militarization. We also took account of the fact that the center of civilization has shifted toward the East, as great problems can already be seen in connection with this. One of these is that international cooperation lags behind the rapidly developing economies of the countries of that region, economies which, moreover, are developing unequally.

The widening of this gap will inevitably confront the dynamics of further development with a serious challenge, both within the region and throughout the global economy. You knowledgeable people can probably see what polarities have arisen in the region. Japan is one thing, the Philippines are another; ASEAN is one thing, Burma is another; and so on and so forth. Processes are taking place very unevenly here, and many problems have emerged that require interpretation and the improvement of international relations, and their channeling into interaction and cooperation.

The chance to employ the vast potential of Asia and the two great ocean basins for the purpose of general progress and peace throughout the world will be used up and missed if we do not now properly tackle the whole complex and mass of problems, complex problems, in that immense region of our world. It may even become the opposite: a source of the dangerous spread of regional and worldwide contradictions. That is why it is essential to set up here, promptly and jointly, rational and comprehensive interaction. In short, when formulating our Vladivostok initiative, we were guided by new thinking. At that time, some people tried to cast doubt on the sincerity and integrity of our intentions and proposals, and to depict things in a way suggesting that the Soviet Union had embarked on routine expansionism under the cover of peace-loving phrases. There is no longer any need to engage in polemics over such statements and judgments, over these assessments in the spirit of hard-baked anti-Sovietism. And here is why: Life has simply discarded them already. Our Vladivostok initiatives have given rise to a great deal of reaction from the states in the region.

I want once again, with all responsibility, to say that the Soviet Union is not seeking any privileges or benefits for itself to the detriment of others, and is not counting on any advantages at someone else's expense.

Yes, we show concern for the security of our eastern borders—which, incidentally, are really long—not through the arms race, but through political and economic means, creating a climate that removes hostility, suspicion, and mistrust. I would say that our policy in Asia, as everywhere, is based on the principles of freedom of choice and peaceful coexistence. It is open [otkryto], and it has—to put it simply—no two-faced aspects to it.

Most of the Asian and Pacific countries have received our policy and initiatives with great interest. At any rate, a very considerable change for the better, if not a fundamental turnaround, has taken place in public awareness in these countries regarding the Soviet Union. From this we presume that our thoughts and proposals have correctly perceived the peculiarities of the situation in that region.

We note with satisfaction the growth in the level of activity of the countries of that region in general world affairs and their desire, independently and on a bilateral or multilateral basis, to tackle their problems and to seek solutions through dialogue.

The political climate in the Asian and Pacific region is changing. There are quite a few specific, reassuring signs here already. One can say that the data bank testifying to a desire for mutual security is growing richer and richer here; it is getting richer. We believe that the Nonaligned Movement is also developing in the direction of this region, and, evidently, will have a very considerable part to play in its destiny, as many countries actually belong to that organization. It is now still looking for more active mechanisms to lend greater dynamism to foreign policy processes. In any event, we can see their desire. This is particularly obvious in the case of their desire to solve regional conflicts and to prevent their emergence.

In general, comrades, I would say that not a great deal of time has passed since that period, after Vladivostok, but we can see that a healthy, undoubtedly positive, and promising process is now developing in this enormous region. That confirms the increasingly interrelated nature of the interests of all mankind and national interests, and of the increasing realization that the world in which we live is an integral whole. I can say that we have a realistic assessment of our role in this. However, I believe that our contribution here is considerable, and we can see that the peoples of all countries value this.

If the United States has expressed doubts about this, and if the United States is trying to sow them among the peoples and governments of these countries, in the states themselves there is a greater understanding of the essence of our policy, which has proved the viability of what we have proposed to the peoples of this region.

If I may cite our example of the solution of the Afghan problem, this had a very strong influence on the processes in that region and on evoking a more objective evaluation of our policy by the governments and states of that region. It is widely recognized that the very fact that the Geneva agreements were achieved had a favorable influence on the search for ways to unblock other regional conflicts. Considerable progress has been made thus far on the question of settling the situation surrounding Cambodia as a result of the efforts of Cambodia itself, Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia, and other ASEAN countries. All of this has led to progress for the better. The recent informal meeting in Jakarta was an important event, which provided a very good and instructive example to all the countries of the region.

The USSR is promoting and is prepared to continue promoting the very rapid achievement of an agreement on Cambodia. We believe that direct talks between China and Vietnam could play an important role in this, in the resolution of this problem and in the improvement of the situation in Asia as a whole.

The tragic and destructive 8-year war between Iran and Iraq has been stopped. The entire world community learned of this with relief. And, I believe, and not only because of this, one must give the United Nations and the secretary general himself their due. It is significant and pleasing that the United Nations is once again gaining strength and its role in international affairs is growing. We are doing everything to support and enhance the prestige and raise the role of this international organization.

We hope the processes that have begun in the Near East will also at long last lead to the untying of this tight knot and to the solution of this regional conflict, which is now very old. This, too, will facilitate an improvement in the entire situation.

The situation on the Korean peninsula remains complex, although here too signs of a way leading to a dialogue between the North and the South have begun to appear. If one is to speak of the priority orientation of our foreign policy, of the relations with the socialist countries, then here, just as in Europe and with Cuba, we can state that the qualitative characteristics of our interaction have been enhanced. We now have a much better view of the problems in our mutual ties, the topical and long-term tasks, and we strive to take them into account when elaborating and implementing our foreign policy.

Something new and substantial—I think one can put it that way—is taking place in our relations with China during powerful renewal processes. The fact that very deep internal changes are currently under way in these two great socialist states certainly facilitates this. We can state that goodwill and trust in the relations between our peoples are growing increasingly. Their deep interest in each other has been revived and is being filled with new content. Mutual attraction—for that is how I would put it—is growing.

Well, the recent bilateral working meeting in Beijing devoted to a settlement concerning Cambodia has to a certain extent expanded the area of mutual understanding on this issue and has also served to improve Soviet-Chinese relations in general. We favor a complete normalization of relations with the PRC and their development to a level commensurate with the responsibility our two countries have for peaceful world policies.

We are ready to commence forthwith the preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit.

The Soviet-Australian summit was a fundamental turnaround in relations with the countries of the South Pacific. As far as its content and the inherent political momentum are concerned, it goes beyond the regional framework.

You know, one can also express joy, or, at any rate, positive feelings over the fact that our relations with the ASEAN countries, too, are increasing dynamically. This is primarily true of Indonesia, and of the Philippines and Malaysia. A useful dialogue has begun with Thailand, with which relations were long askew. We favor the expansion of mutually advantageous and equal relations with all states in this part of the globe, regardless of their size and social system.

Soviet-Japanese relations are indisputably vital to the entire situation here. My meetings with a number of prominent Japanese political figures—Ishibashi, Abe, Fuwa, Doi—and my exchange of letters and messages with Japanese public organizations and cultural personalities have made it possible to get a better view of both the problems and the opportunities on the path to overcoming stagnation. My recent frank conversation with Mr Nakasone has convinced me even more that both the grounds and the mutual desire exist to make our relations more dynamic on the basis of a balance of bilateral and regional interests. We hope this positive tone will be continued in the forthcoming political contacts and will make it possible to take Japanese-Soviet relations to a higher level and bring them into a channel of normal development.

The proper evaluation has been made in the Soviet Union of the restoration of ties with the Japanese National Council of Governors and the renewal of interest among its business circles in their country's reassumption of its place as one of the USSR's leading trading and economic partners. The existing problems in the humanitarian sphere and in fisheries, which are hampering a strengthening of trust, are not, in our view, insurmountable.

However, I cannot fail to note that the Soviet people and Japan's other neighbors, near and distant, are worried by the persistent buildup of its military potential in the framework of sharing the burden with the United States. One percent of GDP for military purposes might look modest, but if you take into account how this turns out in reality, together with the country's growing economic might, this 1 percent already gives rise to very serious reflection.

The Japanese have apparently proved that in the modern world one can attain the status of a great power without relying on militarism. The question naturally arises: Why discredit this experience, which is so unique and instructive for all mankind? Why burden in the eyes of the people the exceptional vigor of Japan's almost worldwide economic presence with historical associations of the prewar and war periods?

We are persistently seeking points of contact regarding the problems of the Asian and Pacific region with the United States. At the same time, one finds that one must often ask oneself the question: Why is it that here, as opposed to certain other important areas of world politics, we have yet to find mutual understanding? Our state interests do not seem to clash here. We are not encroaching on the United States' ramified economic relations. As everywhere else, it would seem, we have already proved that we are able to come to terms with realities. So, what is the matter? I have already had occasion to say, and to remind people when this has been overlooked, that we favor the full-blooded participation of the United States in the affairs of the Asian and Pacific region worthy of its position, and its political and economic potential. However, this must be on an equal footing, without great power posturing and tough guy tactics, which belong in historical dissertations.

The key to an improvement in the situation in this region lies, as everywhere in the world, in a lowering of tension, a reduction of armaments, and a corresponding change in military policy. Processes are under way here, too. I believe the peoples of these countries are also duly assessing our decision on intermediate-range missiles, which concerns this region, as well. And we are prepared to continue seeking new approaches to move forward in this direction.

As a result of reflection and additional analysis, the Soviet leadership, in striving to promote the cause of pan-Asiatic security, is putting forward a number of new proposals.

First: Aware of the concern of the Asian and Pacific countries, the Soviet Union will not increase the number of any nuclear weapons in this region, as it has done for some already, and it calls upon the United States and the other nuclear powers not to deploy any here additionally.

Second: We invite consultations among the main naval powers in the region on not increasing naval forces here.

Third: We propose a multilaterally based discussion on the question of reducing military confrontation in regions where the shores of the USSR, China, Japan, the

DPRK, and South Korea converge, with the aim of freezing and commensurately reducing the level of naval and air forces and restricting their activities.

Fourth: If the United States eliminates its military bases in the Philippines, the USSR will be prepared, in agreement with the Government of Vietnam, to give up the naval material and technical support point at Cam Ranh Bay.

Fifth: In the interests of the safety of sea-lanes and air communications in the region, we propose that measures be jointly worked out to prevent incidents on the open sea and in the airspace above it.

In working out these measures it would be possible to use the experience of existing bilateral Soviet-U.S. and Soviet-British accords, as well as trilateral agreements among the United States, the USSR, and Japan.

Sixth: We propose that an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace be held no later than 1990. Preparatory work for it, as is known, has in the main been completed at the United Nations.

Seventh: We propose the discussion at any level and in any composition of the question of creating a negotiating mechanism to consider our and any other proposals regarding the security of this region. It would be possible to start this discussion between the USSR, China, and the United States as permanent members of the UN Security Council.

There already exists a certain experience which demonstrates the usefulness of contacts between military people. It seems calmer somehow when generals and admirals look at each other not through binoculars but sit face-to-face at the negotiating table. Broad spectrums of military activity can become the subject of discussion. One could start with a meeting between representatives of states which are strongest militarily.

It is very important that countries get to know and understand each other better. At that point, natural concern about one's own security will, generally speaking, be fully reduced and confidence and understanding will grow.

At the same time, I consider it timely, as we are here in Krasnoyarsk, to touch upon a question connected with the prospects for the Soviet-U.S. talks on a reduction in strategic nuclear weapons, and that is the fate of world security. I am talking about the radar station not far from your town. We have done a good deal to prove that the nature and intention of this radar station is not a violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty. We have even invited U.S. congressmen here. We have expressed our readiness to dismantle the equipment at that station if an accord can be reached on observing the aforementioned ABM Treaty. However, conjecture and speculation surrounding the Krasnoyarsk radar station continue to be stirred up, which has a braking influence on the progress of the Geneva talks. It is obvious that there are those who benefit from this.

We have decided once and for all to cut the ground from under the feet of those who are engaged in this, but to those who are sincerely concerned we present irrefutable evidence that their doubts are baseless. We have informed the U.S. President of this decision.

We are proposing that a center for international cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space be created on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar station [applause] and that it be included in the system of a world space organization, the idea of which has been taken up by authoritative circles in the West. We are ready for consultations with scientists from countries that show an interest in this project.

That is our answer to the West's concern about the Krasnoyarsk station. However, our concerns about the construction of American radar stations in Greenland and Great Britain remain. Experts state that they constitute a direct violation of the ABM Treaty. We expect that in response to our fresh initiative the appropriate measures will be taken in Washington.

Returning to the region, I must say that it is thoroughly polluted by more than just arms. It is also threatened by another, fast-growing danger—ecological pollution. This problem is well understood by everyone, and it is now time to think about organizing regional cooperation in this area, perhaps convening, for a start, a special conference of experts which, I am convinced, would demonstrate how many problems we have in common and how interconnected we all are, which means we must act in concert.

Other important subjects that should be on the agenda include such significant ones as cooperation in the preservation and development of ethnic cultures and traditions and in combating natural disasters. In brief, this idea springs to mind: Why not organize a meeting of foreign ministers from all interested states, or from those that are so inclined, to discuss initial approaches to the building of new relations in the Asian and Pacific region?

We observed with interest the activity of the conference on Asian and Pacific cooperation, economic cooperation, and greeted its recent session in Osaka. We are ready to join the work of this international organization in any form its members consider acceptable. The various UN organizations must also be more active—the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, and the Economic Commission for Western Asia.

I would not want anyone to get the impression that as far as the implementation of the Vladivostok ideas are concerned, that we consider everything to be in order in our country itself, and that we are hampered only by external circumstances. We are far from such a conclusion. This, incidentally, emerges from what I said in the first part of my speech, about our problems and difficulties. However, we are looking far ahead. Radical economic reform and the restructuring of the political system will ensure a grand scale of modern development for Siberia and the Far East, worthy of these great and promising component parts of our homeland. This will make it possible, if our neighbors and more distant states wish, to jointly weave a not only strong but also beautiful fabric of economic, scientific-technical, cultural, ecological and other links in this part of Asia.

We are proceeding from the premise that the potential of the Vladivostok program is far from exhausted. In order to give dynamism to foreign economic ties, taking account of the specific character of these regions of our country, we are now working on measures that can be called preferential conditions. We are thinking of granting the enterprises, organizations, and production cooperatives located here the right to direct entry into the external market; to introduce a Far Eastern differential, the right to use a proportion of hard currency deductions for the needs of the collectives' social development, including purchases of consumer goods abroad; to give enterprises participating in coastal trade and trade in frontier regions an opportunity to use for export all the savings of raw and intermediate materials they achieve; to permit our enterprises to enter into direct ties abroad, while cooperatives will obtain permission to do so from kray and oblast executive committees; to exempt joint enterprises established on contract conditions from taxation on profits for a longer period than in the other regions of the country and also exempt their reinvestments in social development funds from taxation; and for wages at joint enterprises to be set at the discretion of the management and the trade unions.

We are also considering the establishment of special joint enterprise zones in the Far East, where preferential conditions for customs payments, the licensing of foreign economic transactions, and taxation would operate. There would be reduced payments for natural and labor resources. We will set about expanding the role of local organs of power in managing foreign economic activity. A proportion of the hard currency deductions from Far Eastern export enterprises will remain at the disposal of the local organs of power. As for creating a regional body in the Far East to coordinate foreign economic relations, its time has evidently come.

Attention has been paid in the Soviet Union to statements in the Chinese press on the possibilities of developing Chinese-Soviet-Japanese trilateral economic activity in mutually advantageous conditions. We share this approach, and if all parties are ready, the elaboration of these ideas can be put on a practical plane. One may add that we are ready to reach agreement with the Chinese side on the organization of agricultural production in Amur and Chita Oblasts and the Maritime Kray and on involvement in the construction of civilian facilities here on principles of reciprocity.

I think that, in the context of a general amelioration of the situation on the Korean peninsula, opportunities can also be opened up for arranging economic ties with South Korea. I am certain that progress in diverse forms of cooperation that are new to us will also create a material and psychological basis for the development of mass foreign tourism.

We favor a bolder approach in involving popular diplomacy in everyday life—it has already proved its effectiveness—and in increasing contacts among people. Thus, why not imagine a cultural contacts center that would be regional—for this region? The purpose of this public organization with national branches would be to work out projects in various fields of knowledge and activity, promotion of contacts among scientists, students, and simply among citizens of different countries, joint humanitarian and ecological research.

Dear comrades, we are only at the beginning of the path to the future of the world's great Asian and Pacific region. Many things must be done. Difficulties, obstacles, and new, unusual things await us, but we will go on doggedly, step after step, gathering experience and know-how. The cause is worthwhile. Every morning on the planet begins in the East; to put it figuratively, it is born amid the waves of the Pacific, not far from you, especially by Siberian standards. I sensed this on my flights around Krasnoyarsk Kray. We will work so that each day moves us along the path of the successful solution of the tasks involved in restructuring and toward strengthening peace and trust among peoples. [applause]

Leaves Krasnoyarsk for Moscow

LD1609111588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Krasnoyarsk for Moscow today. He was seen off at the airport by Shenin, first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Kraykom; Sergiyenko, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Krayispolkom; members of the party kraykom bureau; and representatives of the public.

Arrives in Moscow 16 Sep

LD1609155288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] We have just received a report: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has returned to Moscow from his trip to the Krasnoyarsk Kray.

Further Reportage on Armenian-Azeri Unrest

16 Sep Strike in Yerevan Noted

AU1609170088 Paris AFP in English 1652 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Sept 16 (AFP)—Hundreds of thousands of people staged a one-day strike Friday in Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia, closing all schools and colleges and about half the city's workplaces, Armenian nationalists said.

Igor Muradyan, speaking by telephone from the city, said the strike fell short of the expectations of the Karabakh committee, which hoped that 70 per cent of workers would down tools in solidarity with Armenian strikers in the neighbouring republic of Azerbaijan.

The public transport system ran almost as normal, he said.

Tens of thousands of students and young people demonstrated at Opera Square in Yerevan Friday, Western journalists in the city reported. A second demonstration was planned for the evening.

Representatives of the strikers in Azerbaijan told a crowd of between 100,000 and 150,000 people in Yerevan's Opera Square late Thursday that the situation was growing tenser in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, where a week-long strike began on Monday. [passage omitted]

Student 'Meeting' in Yerevan

NC1709071188 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Sep, ARMENPRES—Life in the republic had returned to normal in past months, with workers striving to make up for the work left undone because of meetings, and in order to fulfill production programs. During this period meetings were held once a week, where questions by participants were answered by the republic's leadership.

During the past few days meetings have been held more often, and on 16 September students in the capital did not attend their classes, participating instead in a morning meeting.

The demands of those participating in the meetings remain the same: the inclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast within the structure of the Armenian SSR.

17 Armenians 'Wounded'

AU1909095888 Paris AFP in English 0953 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP)—Seventeen Armenians were wounded in renewed ethnic violence Saturday outside Stepanakert, the main town of the disputed Azerbaijani region of Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian nationalist activist told AFP on Monday.

Igor Muradyan, speaking by telephone from the Armenian capital Yerevan, said that the violence broke out after Muslim Azeris opened fire on a convoy bringing supplies to Christian Armenian refugees in Stepanakert.

A group of Armenians, some of whom had been taking part in a torch-light mass demonstration in Stepanakert, sought out Azeris they held responsible for the shooting, he said. It was not known whether Azeris were also injured.

The report could not be officially confirmed, as phone lines were cut Monday between Moscow and Nagorno-Karabakh.

But the rumours of the incident triggered a mass demonstrations Sunday and Monday in Yerevan where participants called for a protest strike action, according to an Armenian journalist from the official news agency ARMENPRES.

More Strikes, Rallies Reported

AU1909132188 Paris AFP in English 1313 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP)—Strikes gripped several towns in the Soviet Republic of Armenia on Monday and rallies were held in Yerevan, the capital, a day after clashes with Azeris left 11 Armenians injured, Armenian sources there said.

Protesters in Yerevan surrounded the offices of the Communist Party Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, an Armenian nationalist said.

Ambarstum Galastyan, a member of the Karabakh committee which is leading the movement demanding the transfer of the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia, said the protesters called on parliament to hold an emergency session Tuesday to reconsider the transfer.

Nagorno-Karabakh is an Armenian-majority enclave in the Azerbaijani republic adjoining Armenia in the southern Soviet Union. Armenians are traditionally Christian, and Azeris are mostly Shi'ite Moslems.

25 Injured in Gun Battle

LD1909162188 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Text] Stepanakert September 19 TASS—Following the July 18, 1988, resolution of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, the situation has begun changing for the better and life returning to normal.

Work has got under way on a large scale to fulfil the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to expedite the economic and social development of the autonomous region.

The atmosphere in worker collectives and at institutions of learning is gradually getting healthy. Party committees, local governing councils and social organizations have started taking up more active positions.

That the leaderships of the Communist Parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia have been enhanced and the plenums of their central committees have considered decisive measures to stamp out negative phenomena, strengthen legality and promote democracy and openness have been of no small significance.

Investigations into criminal cases connected with events in Sumgait have in the main been completed and all the persons guilty of murders and of organizing pogroms and violence have been identified and brought to account. More than 30 cases have been transferred to court.

At the same time one cannot but see that the processes of healthy improvement unfolding in Armenia and Azerbaijan are clearly disliked by those involved in corruption, bribe-taking and theft.

Fearing exposure, they are out to distract the people from the urgent problems of perestroyka and from the real struggle with negative phenomena, turn public attention to the issues of interethnic relations and take advantage of any pretext for stirring up nationalist passions.

This has led to the situation in Stepanakert over recent days having again come to a head.

Strikes have been provoked at factories, in building organizations and on public transport. Classes have been discontinued at schools.

An attack has been organized on the regional public prosecutor's office and there have been cases of bodily harm caused to servicemen of the USSR Interior Ministry and to militiamen ensuring public order.

On September 18 a rally authorized by municipal authorities was taking place in the city. Speakers were voicing popular concern about the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and a popular desire for normalizing it.

After some time, however, the rally was interrupted by instigatory information about clashes between the Armenian and Azerbaijani population on interethnic grounds in the village of Khadzhaly near Stepanakert.

When many of those attending the rally went to the village, fire-arms and side-arms were used in mass-scale fights on both sides.

As a result, 25 people received injuries of various degrees of gravity and 17 were hospitalized. Both Armenians and Azerbaijanians applied for medical assistance.

The militia and Interior Ministry troops prevented an escalation of the clash. Essential measures are being taken to ensure public discipline and security for people and cut short disorders.

Personnel from the Public Prosecuter's Office of the USSR have opened a criminal case and are conducting an investigation. A headquarters group let by Andrey Volskiy, a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is at work in the region.

In a radio and TV address the regional party committee and the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous region have condemned the anti-state and illegal actions by persons seeking to heighten tension in interethnic relations.

Rallies, demonstrations and marches have been banned.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan are taking necessary measures to bring the situation back to normal and enforce public order in the republics. Party and worker meetings are taking place.

The situation that has taken shape cannot but arouse serious concern and disquiet. It demands declaring forcefully that the state of things has come into glaring contradiction with the interests of the working people of both republics and cannot be tolerated any further.

The state may not permit any infringement upon the rights of citizens of any nationality and any fomenting of strife between ethnic groups. These activities are prohibited by the Soviet Constitution and by our laws.

A further extension of socialist democracy is inconceivable without a strict observance of legality and of state and public discipline.

Armenian Communist Party Plenum Held 13 Sep

Paper Lists Speakers

NC1709064988 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 17 Sep 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] As already reported, an Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held on 13 September. The plenum studied economic and social problems, ways to improve the republic's moral-ideological atmosphere, and problems of party organizations. Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, submitted a report to the plenum, after which views were exchanged.

On pages 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 the paper publishes speeches at the plenum by Nersesyan, first secretary of the Yerevan city party committee; (Chshmarityan), first secretary of the Stepanavanskiy region party committee; (Astikyan), brigade leader of the (Geghama) tool industry workers' union; Academician Amartsumyan, president of the Republic's Academy of Sciences; Mkrtchyan, editor of KOMMUNIST; Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee; (Asanov), first secretary of the Amasiyskiy region Communist Party; Oganesyan, chairman of the Armenian authors' union; Arutyunyan, minister of internal affairs; Mkrtchyan, first secretary of the Leninakan city party committee; Mazlumyan, first secretary of the Krasnoselskiy region party committee; Martirosyan, chairman of the republic's (?supreme) [word indistinct] committee; Arakelyan, [words indistinct] of Kalininskiy; Ardzrouni, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's [word indistinct]; and Mkhitaryan, first secretary of the Edzhmiatsinskiy region party committee.

Personnel Changes Reported

NC1709090888 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Sep, ARMENPRES—The Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee plenum held in Yerevan discussed ways to overcome economic-social problems, improve the existing moral-ideological atmosphere in the republic, and solve problems faced by party organizations. A report was submitted by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum studied organizational issues and, in a series of changes, relieved Robert Arzumanyan of his position as secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, assigning him to another position. A secret ballot was cast, and Galust Galoyan was chosen to replace him as secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. Murad Muradyan was also relieved of his duties as secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, chief of the Administrative Department, and member of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

Azerbaijan Drafts Ethnic Cooperation Protocol

PM1709121288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Dashdamirov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Ethnic Relations and International Education, by R. Talyshinskiy: "Azerbaijan's Initiative"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are Talyshinskiy introduction]

[Text] Baku—A draft protocol on cooperation and collaboration has been submitted by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Ethnic Relations and International Education to the equivalent commissions in Georgia and Armenia.

The purpose of this document is for the first time in the existence of the Transcaucasian Federation to provide a legal basis for the resolution of economic and cultural problems and the safeguarding of the political, social, and personal rights of representatives of national minorities in the Transcaucasus, including Azerbaijanis, Georgians, and Armenians living outside their own republics. The protocol proposes cooperation among the Supreme Soviets' commissions on such matters as ending bureaucratic distortions, preventing unlawful actions or even inaction with regard to representatives of national minorities, and providing the conditions for the free use of the native language in business, public, and personal life and the education of children.

"In the sphere of practical preparations for this interrepublican cooperation," said A. Dashdamirov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Ethnic Relations and International Education and corresponding member of the republic Academy of Sciences, "we held our latest session the other day, with the participation of A. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. The commission discussed the socioeconomic conditions of the life of the Lezgins, Avars, Georgians, Ingiloi, Aremanians, Meskhetian Turks, and representatives of other nationalities living in Azerbaijan.

"The commission noted that representatives of national minorities living in Azerbaijan enjoy equal rights with the indigenous population and participate actively in sociopolitical life."

[Talyshinskiy] Is there a detailed work plan?

[Dashdamirov] In general, yes. For instance, the commission has instructed the Ministry of Public Education to examine questions of organizing options for the study of the languages of national minorities and to coordinate with the relevant departments in the Transcaucasian republics the possibility of noncompetitive training of representatives of national minority in the educational establishments of those regions. The Ministry of Culture was recommended to devote attention to the provision of literature for rural libraries in the Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Lezgin, and other languages. The State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade was asked to tackle seriously the publication of literature in the languages of national minorities. The ministry of communications will examine and, we think, resolve the problem of a radio service for settlements where representatives of national minorities live and the installation of retransmitters to ensure good reception of television programs.

We have begun this work, but its success needs the cooperation of deputies from all three republics. After all, we have a common interest in improving the living conditions of our peoples and regions.

[Talyshinskiy] When will the protocol on this collaboration come into force?

[Dashdamirov] It will first have to be examined and ratified at the Georgian and Armenian Supreme Soviets. This year we plan to hold a working meeting this year with representatives of the Georgian and Armenian commissions on ethnic relations. Various observations and proposals may be put forward there. After the meeting we will be able to give some dates.

Azerbaijan State Prices Committee Abolished

LD1709084788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0104 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] In its decree dated 16 September 1988, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium abolished the Azerbaijan SSR State Prices Committee.

'Environmental Protection' Rally at Ignalia AES

LD1709194188 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 17 Sep 88

["Environmental Protection Day Observed in Lithuania"—TASS headline]

[Text] Vilnius September 17 TASS—Several thousand people joined hands to form a symbolic chain near the Ignalia nuclear power station in the north-east of Lithuania today. They arrived here from various parts of this Soviet Baltic republic to draw attention to the environmental protection problem and together to give thought to the harm which man can cause to nature by his careless economic activity. Two weeks ago similar action was staged on the Baltic Sea coast—the public of the Baltic republics expressed concern over the critical state of its waters. For the whole day people spruced up the picturesque environs of the Druksiaj Lake, planted trees. Those willing could visit the nuclear power station on the invitation of its senior executives, familiarize themselves with the work to freeze the construction of its third power-generating units. The funding of this facility has been withdrawn recently by the decision of the Lithuanian government which met the public demands and heeded to specialists' views. The leadership of the republic approached the Council of Ministers of the USSR with a request to form a state commission to revise the draft of the Ignalina nuclear power station.

Lithuania's public expressed concern not only over the third unit under construction but also the fail-safe operation of the first and second units of the station. Following the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, several measures were enacted at the two operating units of the Ignalina station to enhance the safety of the reactors, the maximum capacity of the second unit was diminished.

The effectiveness of these steps was confirmed during the insignificant ignition of control cables at the second unit on September 5. Technical protective systems stopped the reactor at due time and the system of automatic fire-fighting promptly eliminated the place of ignition.

'Antinuclear' Demonstration

LD1709153288 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1445 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Between 50,000 and 100,000 Lithuanians in the Soviet Union today defied the authorities' ban and demonstrated against the Ignalina nuclear power station in what was probably (?the biggest ever) demonstration against nuclear power which the Soviet Union has seen so far. Our reporter in the Soviet Union has sent this report from the capital of Lithuania, Vilnius:

Already early in the morning (?I saw) the first full buses and cars drive toward the feared Ignalina nuclear power station which lies approximately 15 miles from Vilnius. And everywhere in the cars and buses there were the until fairly recently banned red-green-yellow old Lithuanian flags. A little bit of national festivity and [word indistinct] but with a serious purpose—to stop the further construction of the Ignalina nuclear power station, which has already had so many mishaps and has already (?scarred) the environment in this area of natural beauty, which the Lithuanians call little Switzerland.

The Ignalina area is closed to foreigners but one of the leaders of the so-called National Front reported that there were between 50,000-100,000 people in the demonstrations. This should make this the biggest antinuclear power station demonstration so far in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Estonian 'Independence Party' 'Gaining Momentum'

AU1609190888 Paris AFP in English 1858 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 16 (AFP)—An Estonian nationalist said on Friday that an independence party had been created in the Baltic republic and was gaining momentum, particularly amongst young people.

At a press conference held in the Moscow home of Sergey Grigoryants, editor of the dissident newsletter GLASNOST, Juri Adams said 102 people had signed up as members when the party was founded on August 20 in the Estonian capital, Tallinn.

He was unable to give current membership figures but said the party was attracting more and more young people.

Mr. Adams, a resident of the southeastern town of Tartu in Estonia, said the new party's top priority is independence.

The majority of Estonians "never stop dreaming of independence," he said.

On Thursday, Estonian party chief Vayno Vyalyas had backed Estonian nationalists' main demands in his first public speech since becoming party leader of the Baltic state last June.

He spoke out in favour of the creation of Estonian citizenship and affirmed that Estonian should become the republic's official language.

He also said that economic autonomy for Estonia was being actively studied by a working group which would put forward concrete proposals by October 15.

Estonia Annuls Stalin-Era Deportation Documents

LD1609232988 Moscow TASS in English 2157 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Tallinn September 17 TASS—The Presidium of Estonia's Council of Ministers has annulled the documents which were adopted by the government of this Soviet Baltic republic in post-war years and on the strength of which mass deportations of people were practised during the period of the Stalin personality cult.

Among such documents was the resolution dated March 14, 1949, of the Council of Ministers of Estonia "On the Deportation of Kulaks and Their Families From the ESSR", the resolution dated March 22, 1949 "On the Deportation of Kulak Families From the ESSR", the resolution of March 23, 1949, "On a Procedure for the Utilization and Transfer of Confiscated Households to Collective Farms in the ESSR", the resolution of August 30, 1947, "On the Taxation of Farmsteads in the ESSR". On the strength of those resolutions thousands of innocent people—men, women and children—were declared accomplices of fascists during the period of the Stalin personality cult and were then banished for special settlement to Siberia and the northern areas of Russia. The banishment decisions were taken by 'three-man teams' without trial and investigation.

"Mass deportations are the anguish which remains in our hearts and souls and which even time cannot deaden. Nowadays we should do everything so as to if only somehow alleviate bitterness at the injustice of what was done", says a report for the republican press.

The elaboration of a draft legislative act has been started to make a political and legal evaluation of mass repressions in Estonia in 1941 and 1949, and to determine a procedure for making up for the damage suffered by the victims. The scientists of Tartu University are among the initiators of preparing such an act.

Georgian Schools To Teach Armenian History

NC1809092688 Yerevan International Service in Armenian to Europe 0700 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] On the basis of a decision adopted by the Georgian SSR Education Ministry, Armenian history courses will be introduced in the Armenian schools of the republic for students in the 8th to 11th grades during the new academic year.

This praiseworthy initiative stems from the consolidation and expansion of the long-lasting friendship between the Armenian and Georgian peoples and is in the interests of both peoples.

As is know, more than half a million Armenians are living in the Georgian SSR. There are Armenian schools in the Armenian-inhabited areas, and Armenian books and newspapers are published. The Georgian Authors' Union includes a special branch on Armenian literature and Armenian theaters, and various other cultural organizations operate in Tbilisi, Batum, and other cities.

The new decision by the Georgian SSR Ministry of Education was warmly welcomed by the Armenian population there. The Armenian boys and girls will be able to learn their people's history in their mother tongue.

According to the program, the history of the Armenian people will be taught during the first semester, and Georgian history will be taught during the second semester. In parallel with (?this), the Armenian language and literature will (?also be taught) in the Armenian schools in the Georgian SSR.

All this stems from the many years of strong cultural ties betwene the two neighbors.

Khatalon Obkom First Secretary Elected

LD1709125988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1158 GMT 17 Sep 88

[Text] Kurgan-Tyube, 17 Sep (TASS)—The first plenum of the Khatlon Obkom of the Communist Party of Tajikistan (new oblast), which examined an organizational issue, was held here.

I. Khalimov [name as received], who worked as the first secretary of Kuybyshev Raykom of Kurgan-Tyube Oblast, was elected first secretary of Khatlon Obkom.

Burlatskiy Views Brezhnev, 'Age of Stagnation'

PM1609130088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Sep 88 pp 13-14

[Fedor Burlatskiy article: "Brezhnev and the End of the Thaw: Reflections on the Nature of Political Leadership"]

[Text] Apart from anything else, what we perhaps particularly need at present is a clear and accurate evaluation of the age of stagnation. We should, we must, understand what happened in nearly 2 decades of L.I. Brezhnev's leadership of the country, with his entourage and the whole administrative apparatus. We must understand not, of course, in order to forgive, nor in order to curse. We must understand in order to evaluate the experience of the past for the sake of a better future. Because, as has often been said, peoples are at least partially rewarded for their great trials by the great lessons they learn from them.

The concept of stagnation itself requires further study. It can hardly be doubted that whereas in some spheres, first and foremost the economy, a trend toward stagnation [stagnatsiya] did indeed come increasingly to the fore, in other spheres—the sphere of politics and morality—there was an actual regression in comparison with the 10-year period of Khrushchevian thaw. The abandonment of reforms, and in many respects the return to the command-and-administer system of the Stalinist era; the freezing of living standards; the general delaying of absolutely self-evident decisions; and the substitution of trite political verbiage in their place; the corruption and degeneration of power, in which whole strata of the people became increasingly involved; the loss of moral values and the universal decline in morality—if that is stagnation, what is a crisis? Foreign policy in particular reflected to the full the contradictory nature of Brezhnev's time, when every step forward along the path of detente was followed by two steps back. Only a few years separate two such events of opposite kinds—the Final Act in Helsinki and the war in Afghanistan.

Out of all the multifaceted aspects of stagnation, I would like to touch on just one: How did it come about that in such a difficult period in the history of our motherland, and indeed in world history, the man at the helm of the country's government was the weakest of all the leaders who had held that position in Soviet times, and perhaps even in prerevolutionary times? I am very keen to avoid giving way to the temptation to ridicule this man, who set up with almost childlike simplicity the accessories of his own cult: four times Hero of the Soviet Union, Hero of Socialist Labor, Marshal of the Soviet Union, International Lenin Prize, a bronze bust in his birthplace, the Lenin Prize for Literature, the Karl Marx Gold Medal—all that was lacking was the title of generalissimo: His life was cut short too soon. Ridicule is too easy a way, the way, moreover, that accords with probably the most persistent Russian tradition, alas. It was Klyuchevskiy, I think, who observed: Each new Russian czar began his career by repudiating his predecessor. There is a saying in the West: Speak no ill of the dead. With us, it is the other way round: immoderate litanies in praise of the living, and endless abuse of the dead. Clearly this is a sublimation, to make up for the lack of opportunity to criticize the current leaders.

Out of all the leaders of the Soviet period, the only exception was Lenin. And how far was he an exception, given that Stalin repudiated Lenin's testament in all his activity, while preserving the hypocritical ritual of reverence toward Lenin personally? As for criticism of Stalin himself, only now is it developing into serious analysis of the political and ideological regime he established.

Is it not time to take this same reasonable step with regard to Brezhnev? Of course, detailed descriptions of the intimate secrets of his corrupt family tickle the sensitivities of some readers. Although it cannot be denied that children have often been the bane of political leaders.... Therefore it is probably more useful to reflect not so much on Brezhnev as on his regime, on Brezhnevism, on the style of political leadership that has, alas, not yet entirely died out, and here we need equally strong guarantees as we need against Stalinism. It was not for nothing that the radical reform of the political system outlined by the 19th party conference was necessary.

Power was thrust upon Brezhnev as a gift of fate. Stalin, in order to turn the post of party Central Committee general secretary, at that time a modest post, into the office of "master" of our country, "had to" eliminate virtually every member of Lenin's Politburo except, naturally, himself, as well as a huge proportion of the party aktiv. After Stalin's death Khrushchev came second, and not first, as many people think, because Malenkov was regarded as first at the time. Khrushchev won the struggle against mighty and influential rivals, including people like Molotov who had formed the basis of the state practically since Lenin's time. Perhaps that was why the Stalin and Khrushchev eras, each in its own way, were filled with dramatic changes, major reformations, disturbance, and instability.

Nothing of the kind happened with Brezhnev. He obtained power as smoothly as if someone had tried the crown of Monomakh [an early Russian ruler; proverbial expression for the burden of state responsibilities] on various heads well in advance and settled on this one. And this crown fitted him so well that he wore it for 18 years without fears, cataclysms, or conflicts of any kind. And the people closest to him longed for only one thing: for this man to live forever—it would be so good for them. Brezhnev himself, at a meeting with people from his regiment, showing off his new marshal's uniform, said: "You see... service rewarded at last." This phrase is also very appropriate to describe the process by which he succeeded to the "office" of party and state leader—service rewarded....

Brezhnev was the exact opposite of Khrushchev, with his boldness, willingness to take risks, even to be adventurous, with his hunger for novelty and change. If we knew Nikita Sergeyevich less well, we might find it a mystery why Khrushchev so patronized a man of the opposite cast of mind and temperament. As an authoritarian personality not inclined to share power and influence with other people, he surrounded himself mainly with the kind of leaders who hung on his every word, said yes to everything, and willingly fulfilled his every instruction. He did not need comrades in arms, still less captains [vozhdi]. He had enough of them after Stalin's death, when Malenkov, Molotov, and Kaganovich tried to expel him from the political Olympus, and perhaps let him rot in hell. People like Brezhnev, Podgornyy, Kirichenko, and Shelest were obedient performers of his will, "underlings," as, incidentally, Khrushchev himself, not without sarcastic humor, used to call representatives of the press. True, when the sacred question "who is boss?" arose, it was these "underlings" who quickly went over to the other side.... Because in politics there is no such thing as love—here the interests of power prevail.

However, in one respect Brezhnev's accession to the leadership recalls the Stalin and Khrushchev models. No one took him seriously as a contender for the role of leader, and he himself did everything possible to emphasize his total lack of any such ambition. I remember how, when his speeches were being prepared (when he was chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium) on the occasion of a foreign trip, the client's main desire was conveyed to the speechwriters: "More modest, more modest, I am not a leader, not a captain [vozhd]...."

Probably not everyone knows that Khrushchev's overthrow was not planned by Brezhnev. Many people think M.A. Suslov did it. In fact it was the work of a group headed by A.N. Shelepin. They used to meet in the most unlikely places, usually at a stadium during a soccer match. And there they plotted. A special role was assigned to Semichastnyy, leader of the KGB, who was recommended to that post by Shelepin. His task was to replace Khrushchev's bodyguard. And indeed, when Khrushchev was summoned to the CPSU Central Committee Presidium session from Pitsunda, where he was on vacation with Mikoyan at the time, on boarding the plane he saw a new bodyguard, not his own. Khrushchev apparently realized at once what was afoot, and unsuccessfully tried to persuade the pilot to land the plane in Kiev.

It is not clear to this day when Shelepin entered into this risky compact with Suslov and Brezhnev. All that is known is that he did it in that order: first with the former, then with the latter. It is also known that the immediate pretext for the Central Committee Presidium session was a speech by Khrushchev's son-in-law Adzhubey in West Berlin, where he said flippantly that it would cost us nothing to accept the unification of the two Germanies. The GDR leaders immediately expressed their indignation to their Soviet colleagues, and that was the spark that started the conflagration.

The change of leadership in itself was a rare event in political history in this respect. Usually this method proved effective only when the former ruler was killed. The success of the "peaceful plot" against Khrushchev was successful for two reasons. First—he himself, in the last years of his rule, had cut off one by one all the branches of the tree on which his power was based. The other reason was Shelepin.

It seems that Khrushchev had more trust in this man than in anyone else and advanced him more rapidly than anyone else on the party and state ladder. In a short space of time Shelepin rose from being an ordinary Central Committee member to being member of the Presidium, chairman of the Party and State Control Committee, Central Committee secretary.... The saying is indeed true: Spare us, oh God, from our friends, and we can take care of our enemies ourselves...

However, Shelepin was cruelly mistaken. He had a poor knowledge of our history, although he was a graduate of the Institute of Philosophy, Literature, and History. He was convinced that Brezhnev was an interim, temporary figure and it would cost him nothing, after felling a giant like Khrushchev, to deal with a man who was only Khrushchev's feeble shadow.

It must be observed that Brezhnev did indeed owe his entire career to Khrushchev. He graduated from the land use surveyors' technical school in Kursk, and only joined the party at the age of 25. Then, after graduating from the institute, he began his political career. In May 1937 (!) Brezhnev became deputy chairman of Dneprodzerzhinsk Gorispolkom, and a year later he was on the party obkom in Dnepropetrovsk. It is hard to say whether Khrushchev assisted Brezhnev in these first steps, but his entire subsequent career had the most active support of the then first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, later secretary of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). When Brezhnev was appointed to the post of first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, he took along many of his friends from Dnepropetrovsk, and there too he acquired as a close colleague the then chief of the republic Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, K.U. Chernenko.

After the 19th party congress Brezhnev became candidate member of the Central Committee Presidium, and after Stalin's death he was at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. The stronger Khrushchev grew, the higher Brezhnev rose. By the October 1964 plenum he was second secretary of the Central Committee. Thus Khrushchev built his successor's pedestal with his own hands.

But Brezhnev did not deal harshly with his former patron. Khrushchev set a precedent at the CPSU Central Committee June 1957 Plenum. It is said that after the ignominious defeat of the Stalinist guard, Kaganovich, who had been Khrushchev's patron for many years, called him and asked: "Nikita, what will happen to us?" Khrushchev answered his question with another: "What would you have done if you had won the day? Left me to rot in prison, shot me?" To this Kaganovich could only mutter something indistinct. Then Khrushchev said: "But I will say to you simply: Go, all of you... you know where...."

Thus the great transition was made from the period of shooting defeated political rivals to the period of sending them into exile. Brezhnev made use of that precedent. He did not deal harshly with Khrushchev, he simply dispatched him in disfavor, as people used to be dispatched 200 years ago—to live out his life in a dacha near Moscow under kindly supervision.

In October 1964 I was at an out-of-town dacha as one of a group of staffers from the Central Committee's two international departments. On Khrushchev's personal instructions, we were drawing up an important foreign policy document. They were hurrying us. Central Committee secretaries inquired several times a day how things were going. Pumping ourselves full of coffee and other "medicines," we were painfully giving birth to the latest "paper." Suddenly the telephone fell silent. Nobody called any more. A day passed. Another began—still not a sound. Then an old friend of mine said to me: "Why don't you go off to Moscow and find out what's happening there. This silence is suspicious."

I arrived at Staraya Ploshchad [Central Committee headquarters]. I went to work, and the first thing I noticed was indeed the suspicious silence. The corridors were as empty as if someone had swept them out with a broom. I looked into the offices—two or three people were sitting in each, whispering. But then I met someone who was, as I remember it, chief of the Czechoslovakia section. A fussy sort of boy, a former Komsomol worker. He said to me: "Sitting and writing! You writers! When people are out there seizing power!" Finally I found out what was happening. The Central Committee Presidium session was in its 2d day... All the members of the leadership were speaking. Criticizing Khrushchev. Proposing that he resign "at his own request." True, there was a rumor that some people wanted to let him stay on as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. But whether that option was dropped, or whether the rumor was untrue, at the October 1964 plenum it was decided to adopt a statement on his resignation "at his own request"....

After the plenum Andropov—the leader of the department where I worked—addressed the staffers and gave us the details. I remember clearly his main point: "Now we will embark more consistently and firmly on the path of the 20th congress." True, I was then the target of a reproach, the first addressed to me personally in many years of work together: "Now do you understand why your article was not published in PRAVDA?"

The article was not, in fact, mine. It was an editorial article prepared by me, a full page, entitled: "Stalin's Personality Cult and His Heirs." It was approved by Khrushchev personally. But for some months it had remained unprinted. Why? After the October plenum it became clear that it had been held back deliberately.

Soon after that plenum I had my first and basically my only detailed conversation with Brezhnev. In the spring of 1965 a large group of consultants from our department and others was instructed to draft the Central Committee first secretary's report for the 20th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War. We were in a room on the fifth floor not far from Brezhnev's office. I was instructed to lead the group, which was why Brezhnev's aide conveyed to me his request for analysis and evaluation of a parallel text that Shelepin had sent him. Later Brezhnev himself came out, shook everyone's hand, and asked me:

"Well, what kind of dissertation has he submitted?"

The "dissertation" was, I must say, serious—nothing less than a request for a total revision of the entire party policy of the Khrushchev period in a spirit of open neo-Stalinism. We counted 17 points involving an abrupt change in political direction, back to the old times: restoration of Stalin's "good name" after the decisions of the 20th and 22d congresses; repudiation of the approved party program and certain guarantees it contained against recurrences of the personality cult, in particular cadre rotation; abolition of the Regional Economic Councils and a return to the departmental principle of leadership, and abandonment of the division of obkoms and raykoms into industrial and agricultural; insistence on tough labor discipline at the expense of democracy; a return to the policy of world revolution and abandonment of the principle of peaceful coexistence, and also of the formula of peaceful transition to socialism in capitalist countries; restoration of friendship with Mao Zedong at the cost of conceding totally to him with regard to criticism of the personality cult and the common strategy of the communist movement; revival of the old descriptions of the LCY as a "hotbed of revisionism and reformism"... And much more in the same vein.

I started expounding our views to Brezhnev point by point. And the more I explained, the more his face changed. It grew tense and long, and then we realized, to our horror, that Leonid Ilich had hardly grasped a single word. I halted my torrent of eloquence, and he said with disarming sincerity:

"I find it hard to grasp all this. In general, to be frank, it is not my speciality. My strong point is organization and psychology"—and he made a kind of vague movement with his hand, the fingers spread wide.

The most dramatic problem—and this very soon became clear—was that Brezhnev was entirely unprepared for the role that unexpectedly fell to his lot. He became first secretary of the party Central Committee as a result of a complex, multifaceted, and even bizarre symbiosis of forces. It involved a little of everything: dissatisfaction with Khrushchev's scornful attitude to his colleagues; fear arising from the unrestrained extremes of his policy and the adventurist actions that played a part in the escalation of the Caribbean crisis; illusions about the "personality" basis of the conflict with China; and in particular, the annoyance felt by the conservative section of the government apparatus with the constant instability, jolts, changes, and reforms that were impossible to foresee. Not the least important part was that played by the struggle between different generations of leaders: the 1937 generation, to which Brezhnev, Suslov, and Kosygin belonged, and the postwar generation, including Shelepin, Voronov, Polyanskiy, and Andropov. Brezhnev was in the center, at the intersection of all these roads. So in the initial stage he suited nearly everyone. Or at any rate, no one protested. His very incompetence was a blessing: It offered the apparatus workers plenty of opportunities. The only person made to look a fool was Shelepin, who thought he was the smartest. He did not advance a single step in his career, because not only Brezhnev, but also Suslov and the other leaders detected his authoritarian ambitions.

What happened was something we often observe in primary party organizations, when they elect to the post of party committee secretary not the most active, bold, and competent person, but the safest, who will not let anyone down personally and will not do any harm if it is not absolutely necessary. But if anyone had said then that Brezhnev would remain in power for 18 years, people would have laughed in his face. It looked highly improbable.

The then first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom, N.G. Yegorychev, probably expressed the general feeling when he observed in a conversation with one of the leaders: Leonid Ilich is a good man, of course, but is he really suitable for the post of leader of such a great country? He paid dearly for that sentence, as he did, incidentally, for his open criticism, at a CPSU Central Committee plenum, of military policy, for which Brezhnev was responsible. Instead of becoming a Central Committee secretary, as had been expected, Yegorychev spent nearly 20 years as ambassador to Denmark....

Meanwhile, a fierce struggle broke out over the choice of the country's path of development. One person, as was mentioned above, unequivocally proposed a return to Stalinist methods. Another path was proposed to the leadership by Andropov, who submitted a detailed program based more consistently than in Khrushchev's time on the decisions of the anti-Stalinist 20th congress. It is not difficult to reconstruct these ideas today, because they were set forth, in a more general form, in an editorial article prepared at the time for PRAVDA ("State of the Whole People," 6 December 1964). They are: 1) economic reform; 2) the transition to modern, scientific management; 3) the development of democracy and self-management; 4) the party's concentration on political leadership; 5) the ending of the nuclear missile race, which had become senseless, and the USSR's emergence onto the world market with a view to acquiring new technology.

Andropov expounded this program to Brezhnev and Kosygin during a joint trip to Poland in 1965. Some elements of it found support, but as a whole it did not meet with sympathy from either Brezhnev or Kosygin, though for different reasons. Kosygin supported economic transformations, but insisted on the restoration of relations with China at the cost of conceding to it and renouncing the "extremes" of the 20th CPSU Congress.

As for Brezhnev, he was in no hurry to define his position, because he was keeping an eye on the correlation of forces inside the CPSU Central Committee Presidium and in the party Central Committee.

Andropov's bold step probably played not the least important part in his move from the post of Central Committee secretary to the office of chairman of the USSR KGB. Here various forces came together. First there was Suslov, who had disliked Andropov for a long time, suspecting that he was after his own job. Then there was Kosygin, who nurtured illusions of the possibility of rapid restoration of allied relations with China and therefore wanted to remove a participant in the Soviet-Chinese conflict from the leadership of the department. Thirdly there was Brezhnev's desire to appoint a loyal man to the KGB and thereby safeguard himself against the same "trick" that Semichastnyy played on Khrushchev. Ultimately Brezhnev showed himself to be a great master of compromise: He accommodated the wishes of Suslov and Kosygin, but at the same time recommended the election of Andropov as candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and later member of the Politburo.

Thus Brezhnev's main feature as a political leader was immediately revealed. Being an extremely cautious man who had not taken a single rash step during his rise to power, being what is known as a "weathercock leader," Brezhnev adopted a centrist position from the outset. He did not accept one extreme or the other—neither the program of reform in the spirit of the 20th congress, nor neo-Stalinism. Incidentally, here he was following a tradition that became established after Lenin. Probably not everyone knows that Stalin also came to power as a centrist. He formed a bloc with Kamenev and Zinovyev against the "leftist" Trotskiy, and later with Molotov, Mikoyan, and others against the "rightist" Bukharin. And only at the end of the twenties—mainly with a view to strengthening his personal power—did he begin to implement the leftist program of "revolution from above" and terror. Khrushchev, who began by stripping himself of his own shirt in the secret report to the 20th party congress, also began to shift toward the center after the Hungarian events of 1956. Speaking at the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, he called Stalin a "great Marxist-Leninist," then quarreled with representatives of the intelligentsia who ardently supported the criticism of the personality cult, and so forth. True, he was constantly getting carried away in the direction of extreme decisions. He too paid the full price for his inconsistency and thoughtless mistakes in October 1964.

Brezhnev was another matter. By his very nature, his type of education, and his career, he was a typical oblast-level apparatchik. Not a bad executor of orders. But no leader [vozhd], no leader.... And he therefore took a good deal from Stalin, but a little from Khrushchev too.

But let us return to the drafting of the report for the 20th anniversary of victory, because it was then that the historical choice was defined that was to determine the character of the Brezhnevian era. Shelepin's "dissertation" was rejected, and by joint efforts a version of the report was drawn up that developed, albeit not very consistently, the principles, ideas, and tenets of the Khrushchev period. Brezhnev invited us into his office, sat the representatives of the different departments on either side of a long table, and asked us to read the text aloud.

Here we learned for the first time another important detail of the Brezhnev style: He greatly disliked reading, and absolutely could not bear writing. He usually took in all the information, as well as his speeches and reports, by ear, unlike Khrushchev, who often dictated some fundamental ideas beforehand, prior to the drafting of particular speeches. Brezhnev never did that.

The reading of the draft report went relatively well. But it turned out that the main battle was still to come—when it was distributed, as was usual, to the Presidium members and CPSU Central Committee secretaries. I was instructed to summarize the proposals submitted and draw up a short checklist accordingly. The vast majority of members of the leadership advocated strengthening the positive characterization of Stalin. Some even submitted lengthy interpolations with their text, saying that Stalin had secured the routing of the opposition, the victory of socialism, and the implementation of Lenin's plan for industrialization and collectivization and the cultural revolution, which created the preconditions for victory in the Great Patriotic War and the formation of the socialist camp.

Supporters of this view insisted that the very term "personality cult," and still more "period of the personality cult," be excluded from the text of the report. This was particularly insisted on by Suslov, Mzhavanadze, and certain younger leaders, including Shelepin. Others, like Mikoyan and Ponomarev, proposed the inclusion of formulas borrowed directly from the famous resolution "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences" of 30 June 1956.

Andropov expressed a particular opinion. He proposed entirely sidestepping the question of Stalin in the report, simply not mentioning his name, in view of the diversity of opinions and the existing correlation of forces among the leadership. Yuriy Vladimirovich believed there was no problem more likely to split the leadership, the government apparatus, and indeed the entire party and people at that time than the Stalin problem.

Brezhnev eventually decided on a version close to that proposed by Andropov. In the report on the 20th anniversary of victory Stalin's name was mentioned only once.

Soon Shelepin's supporters began to proclaim loudly their leader's ambitions and plans. During Shelepin's visit to Mongolia his close friend, former Komsomol Central Committee Secretary N.N. Mesyatsev, began to boast in the presence of Yu. Tsedenbal that the real number one was him, Shelepin. And, well and truly "under the influence," he started singing the song "Prepare for the Great Goal."

Tsedenbal was not slow to report this to Moscow. Shelepin, who was smarter than his minions, deliberately stopped off in Irkutsk on the way home and delivered a speech in the obkom in which he pointedly emphasized Brezhnev's role. But it was too late. He was "exposed," and everyone understood his intentions. The long, devious, difficult, hidden struggle had begun between the two leaders, and Brezhnev had the advantage. Only then did I appreciate his phrase: "My strong point is organization and psychology." It was again confirmed that in politics unhurried persistence always prevails over brute force.

In the initial period after coming to power Brezhnev used to begin his working day in an unconventional way—he devoted a minimum of 2 hours to telephone calls to other members of the top leadership and many authoritative secretaries of union republic Central Committees and obkoms. As a rule he always talked in the same way—look, Ivan Ivanovich, we are studying this matter. I wanted to consult you, hear your opinion.... You can imagine the sense of pride that filled Ivan Ivanovich's heart at that moment. That is how Brezhnev's prestige grew stronger. He created the impression of an equable, calm, tactful leader who would not take a single step without consulting with other comrades and receiving the full approval of his colleagues.

When questions were discussed at sessions of the Central Committee Secretariat or the Presidium he almost never spoke first. He allowed everyone to have their say, listened attentively, and, if there was no consensus, preferred to postpone the matter, do some more work, agree it with everyone, and submit it for examination again. It was under him that the practice of very complicated agreements flourished so abundantly, requiring dozens of signatures on documents, which brought the decisions adopted to a standstill or entirely distorted their meaning.

Brezhnev acted in exactly the opposite way in deciding cadre questions. When he was interested in someone, he was the first to sign, and he got his own way. He had thoroughly grasped Stalin's formula: Cadres decide everything. Gradually, quietly, and almost imperceptibly he managed to replace more than half the obkom secretaries, a significant proportion of ministers, and many leaders of central scientific institutions. He had the last word in awarding Lenin and State Prizes. Brezhnev generally preferred to be involved not so much in production as in distribution, in handouts. He understood this work well and was not slow to telephone a person who had been presented with an award, still more the title of Hero of Socialist Labor, to congratulate him and thereby show that the decision was his personally.

As for the Brezhnevian style, this was perhaps precisely what it consisted of. People with that style are not very competent at resolving substantive questions of the economy, culture, or policy. But they do understand very well whom to appoint to what post, whom to reward, when, and how. Leonid Ilich worked hard to install in leadership posts—in the party organizations and in the economy, science, and culture—exponents of this style, "little Brezhnevs," who were not hasty, not incisive, not outstanding, and not particularly concerned about the job, but well able to handle assets.

The "weathercock leader," who always had his eye on the majority in the leadership, was well complemented by the distributor leader, so to speak. This took us back to the tradition of Russian statehood of the period before Peter the Great, when provincial governors were appointed not to lead, but to rake in the revenue....

The people of the 20th congress or those who were simply bold innovators were not shot, as in the thirties. They were quietly pushed aside, pushed out, hampered, suppressed. More and more "mediocrities" triumphed everywhere—people who were not exactly stupid or entirely incompetent, but who were patently untalented, lacking in fighting qualities and principles. They gradually filled the posts in the party and state apparatus and the leadership of the economy and even science and culture. Everything grew dull and went into a decline. The underlings grew to resemble the boss....

Brezhnev understood that very well, and the skill in which he was indeed a great master was that of patiently pulling the blanket of power over to his own side of the bed. In this he was unrivaled. And he did it imperceptibly, without apparent pressure. He even went so far as to place a bed of straw under the person whom, with a slight movement of the torso, he was pushing off the edge of the bed. He needed places for the Dneptropetrovsk, Moldavian, and Kazakhstan crew. He placed reliable people who would not let him down personally in all the important posts. And Podgornyy, Voronov, Polyanskiy, and Mikoyan disappeared one after another from the Presidium and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. You remember how Shelest, leader of the large Ukrainian party organization, slipped away silently and unadvertised. All he did was to utter one sentence at a Politburo session on some issue or other: The Ukrainian party organization will not support that decision.

On the subject of the "bed of straw," here is a curious fact. After N.G. Yegorychev's removal from the post of secretary of the Moscow party organization, Leonid Ilich called him and said something like this: "Forgive me, these things happen.... Do you have any problems at all, family problems or anything else?" Yegorychev, whose daughter had married not long before and was struggling with a husband and child without an apartment, was weak enough to tell Brezhnev about this. And guess what? A few days later the young family had an apartment. Brezhnev did not want anyone to bear a grudge. If he had been a connoisseur of art, he would probably have preferred pastel demitints, with no bright colors, whether white or red, green or orange.... He often presented his entourage with apartments himself. How about that? Can you imagine a U.S. President handing out apartments?

So Brezhnev arrived without his own program for the country's development. This is a rare case in modern political history of a person taking power as such, with no specific plans. But it cannot be said, in Mao Zedong's expression, that he was a clean sheet of paper on which any characters could be written. A deeply traditional and conservative man by nature, he was most afraid of abrupt movements, sharp turns, major changes. Condemning Khrushchev for voluntarism and subjectivism, he was concerned most of all to erase his radical initiatives and restore what was approved in Stalin's day. First of all the regional economic councils and the division of party organs into industrial and agricultural (a form of Khrushchevian pluralism?), which so annoyed the government apparatus, were abolished. Major leaders who had been sent off against their will to the periphery, near and far, returned to their old places in Moscow. The idea of cadre rotation was quietly and imperceptibly nullified. As a counterweight to it, the slogan of stability—the cherished dream of every apparatchik—was put forward. Brezhnev did not return to the Stalinist repressions, but he dealt successfully with dissidents.

Instead of Khrushchev's 11-year secondary school system, which laid claim to turn schools into polytechnics, there was a return to the old 10-year schools. Peasants were given back the farmstead plots that had been taken away from them. The corn epic became a thing of the past, and Lysenko with it. There was a gradual reorientation from the opening up of the virgin lands to the stepping up of cultivation of central regions of the country. Kolkhoz members received a pension, and a minimum wage was guaranteed for those working on kolkhozes. The compulsory deliveries norm was cut, and purchases of agricultural products at higher prices were increased.

All these measures in agriculture had already been planned under Khrushchev. The last such upsurge of the reforming spirit was the September 1965 plenum. Here an economic reform was proposed, initiated by Kosygin. The reform was based on debates that began back in September 1962 over an article by the Kharkov professor Ye. Liberman, "Plan, Profit, Bonus." These ideas were later developed in articles by the major Soviet scientists V. Nemchinov, V. Novozhilov, and L. Kantorovich. On the eve of the October coup, in August 1964, the implementation of the new economic system proposed by the scientists began, on Khrushchev's proposal, at the "Bolshevichka" factory in Moscow and the "Mayak" factory in Gorkiy. And a few days after Khrushchev's famously "voluntary" departure on pension, the experiment was extended to many other enterprises. Inspired by its results, Kosygin made his report at the September 1965 plenum.

But Brezhnev was skeptical about this "venture." Without fully understanding it, he intuitively had more confidence in the methods that had produced such brilliant results, as he saw it, in the period of Stalin's industrialization. An important part was also played by jealousy of Kosygin, who had every advantage as one of the senior leaders whose authority went back to the period of the Patriotic War.

Jealousy is purely an apparatchik's term, a bureaucratic synonym for "envy." But here it has a special force. People on the same rung of the administrative ladder watch carefully to see that their colleague does not advance a little further, before them. Therefore they are horrified at any contribution made by their colleague, especially in the press or on television, before a large audience of the party and people.

In the initial period of Brezhnev's leadership there was an amusing episode at a session of representatives of the Warsaw Pact countries, when he made what was apparently his one and only unscripted speech. The Romanian delegation was headed not by the party leader, but by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and he proposed that the joint document be signed by the state leaders, not the party leaders. At once Leonid Ilich popped up like a jack-in-the-box and uttered two-and-a-half sentences. They went roughly like this: "How is that possible? The document should be signed by the top man in the country.... And the top man is the party leader."

At that time people in the apparatus used to recount Brezhnev's words on the subject of Kosygin's report at the September plenum: "What is he thinking of? Reform, reform.... Who needs it, and who can understand it? We need to work better, that is the only problem."

But my personal impressions of Brezhnev may be subjective, especially since I only talked with him once. Let us turn to the opinions of people who knew him better. A. Bovin, for instance, claims that Brezhnev can hardly be called a major political figure, though, true, he adds that according to his observations "Brezhnev was not a bad man in general, he was sociable, steady in his attachments, cordial, a hospitable host." "He loved hunting.... He took pleasure in the joys of life that were available to him."

But that is by the way. What I really cannot agree with is the concept of "two Brezhnevs"—before and after the mid-seventies—the assertion that at the beginning of his time in office he was a supporter of economic and other reforms. People cite a lengthy quotation from Brezhnev's speech at the September 1965 plenum which is supposedly particularly characteristic of his position. But even then it was known for sure that Brezhnev was an active opponent of the reform proposed by Kosygin, and that it was first and foremost his fault that it failed.

It was under Brezhnev that appalling verbosity became the tradition—there was hardly room for it all in the nine volumes of "his" collected works. Speeches were pronounced—often they were perfectly good, correct speeches—but there was nothing behind them. His speechwriters had an exceptional talent for distorting any useful idea by means of a scarcely perceptible twist. Thus, for instance, the article "On the Building of the Developed Socialist Society" was published in PRAVDA in 1966. It contained, basically, a rejection of the slogan of the "full-scale building of communism," the recognition that we had as yet created only backward forms of socialism, and the orientation toward scientific and technical modernization, the reconstruction of management, and democratic development. What did the people from the "ideological beauty parlor" make of this? They put into Brezhnev's mouth the tenet that the developed socialist society had already been built in our country. The same thing was said in the preamble to the USSR Constitution. And so it was all turned into empty propaganda. This happened under "early" Brezhnev, and still more under "late" Brezhnev.

Politics ceased to be politics. Because politics means practical decisions, not long-winded speeches about decisions. It is not declarations about the Food Program, but food in the stores; not the promise of communism, but real progress toward well-being for everyone.

It is true that the word "problem" was a favorite in Brezhnev's early speeches. He spoke of the problems of the scientific and technical revolution and labor productivity, the food problem, the housing problem, and so forth. And all the time he called for decisions to be made. But for some reason, the decisions were not made. Or if they were, they were not fulfilled. The USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute carried out a study of the effectiveness of decisions taken by the USSR Council of Ministers. The results were shocking: No more than 1 in 10 decisions was actually carried out.

It is true that Brezhnev liked banquets, hunting, fast driving. It was he who started the fashion for rushing around the "communist city" at 140 kph. And the faster the bosses drove in their new ZIL limousines, the more slowly the country crawled along. Instead, there were words, words, words. And how did the people pay? How many billions of public money and how much of the people's enthusiasm went on building the Baykal-Amur Railroad, for which the backup and the economic justification did not exist? What did the "majestic" projects for reversing the Siberian rivers cost? And the uncontrolled military spending? Meanwhile the people's living standard declined to one of the lowest among the industrially developed states.

One of the princelings of the Brezhnev dynasty recounted a conversation that took place at the Zavidovo dacha, where the latest speech was in preparation. Someone told Brezhnev how hard life is for low-paid people. He replied: "You don't know life. Nobody lives on their wages. I remember in my youth, when I was at the technical school, we earned a bit of money by unloading freightcars. And what did we do? Three sacks or boxes for them, one for yourself. That's how everyone in the country lives." Yes, it is well-said: A fish rots from the head down. Brezhnev regarded the black economy, extortion in the service sphere, and the bribery of officials as normal. It became practically the universal norm of life. Remember the words of Saint-Simon, who observed long ago that nations, like individuals, can live in two ways: by stealing or by producing.

Who is to blame? Brezhnev? That is easily said now. Are the minions to blame, for self-interestedly inflating this empty rubber vessel? More than he is. Because they knew what they were doing. But the main culprit that should be brought before the court of history is the Brezhnev regime, which preserved poverty and twisted the minds of vast numbers of people.

Does that mean that the country was not developing, that everything was indeed at a standstill? Of course not. The people continued to work. Industrial production grew, albeit slowly, though two extremely dangerous phenomena became increasingly apparent. Fuel extraction was increasing rapidly. In about 15 years as much was extracted as in the country's entire previous history. That meant eating into the stocks belonging to future generations, on the principle: Apres nous le deluge! And secondly: There was more or less a steady decline in the proportion of consumer goods in total output. The country continued to develop on an extensive basis.

They were 20 years of wasted opportunities. The technological revolution that had begun in the world passed us by. We did not even notice it, but continued to talk about the traditional scientific and technical progress. During that time Japan became the world's second industrial power, South Korea was hot on the heels of Japan, Brazil joined the ranks of the new centers of industrial might. True, we achieved military parity with the biggest industrial power of the modern world. But at what cost? At the cost of an increasing technological laggardness in all other spheres of the economy, the further disruption of agriculture, the failure to create a modern service sphere, and the people's living standard frozen at a low level.

The situation was complicated by the fact that any endeavor to modernize the model of socialism itself was rejected. On the contrary, faith in organizational and bureaucratic decisions grew stronger. No sooner had a problem arisen than the country's leadership reacted with one voice: Whose responsibility is it? We must set up a new ministry or some analogous organ.

Agriculture and the food problem were still the Achilles heel of our economy. But decisions were sought according to the traditional patterns, which had already demonstrated their ineffectiveness in the preceding era. The policy of sovkhozization of kolkhozes, that is, further state control, continued.

Chemicalization did not yield the expected results. Despite the fact that in the seventies the USSR was ahead of the United States in fertilizer production, labor productivity in agriculture was several times lower. One-fourth of the working population of the USSR was unable to feed the country, while 3 percent of the U.S. population, the farmers, produced so much that they sold a significant proportion of it abroad.

There was only one reason for the economic and technological laggardness: incomprehension and fear in the face of the urgently necessary structural reforms—the transition to economic accountability in industry, cooperativization of the service sphere, team and family contracts in the countryside. And the most dreadful thing of all, for the regime of those years, would have been to agree to democratization and the restriction of the power of Brezhnev's main power base—the bureaucracy.

All attempts to progress along the path of reform and show economic independence or independence of thought were mercilessly clamped down on.

The main lesson of the Brezhnev era is the collapse of the command-and-administer system that grew up under Stalin. The state not only failed to ensure progress, but acted increasingly as a brake on society's development—economic, cultural, and moral. Brezhnev and his entourage accumulated, in one respect, experience that is not entirely useless, though unfortunately it took nearly 20 years. There is no going back! Even if Brezhnev had decided to shore up the decaying edifice by regressing into Stalinist repressions, he would have been unable to make that system effective. Because the technological revolution demands free labor, personal initiative and commitment, creativity, continuous endeavor, rivalry. Structural reforms and restructuring were the essential, logical way out of stagnation.

Being the living embodiment of the illusions of state socialism, Brezhnev led it into the ultimate impasse. This is the starting point for the only possible—and extremely difficult—transition to the formation of a civic socialist society, at the center of which are self-managing labor collectives and active individuals: In working for themselves, they are working for the whole of society. The state cannot, of course, be transformed overnight, but it will shrink dramatically, narrowing its functions to retain only those that accord with society's security and progress. Hypothetically speaking, if out of 100 ministries and departments 15-20 are retained, and of the 18 million members of the management apparatus two-thirds go over to the sphere of social self-management, our state can only gain from this, as its citizens will indisputably gain.

The second lesson is that it is time to put an end forever to a system where people arrive in the country's leadership not as a result of the normal democratic procedure and public activity in the party and state, but by means of backstage deals, or, worse, conspiracies and bloody purges. Experience has already shown sufficiently that in this situation those who come to power are by no means the most capable leaders, the most committed Leninists, or those who are most devoted to the people; they are the most cunning Ulysses types—masters of in-fighting, intrigues, and even common or garden corruption. The political mafias of Rashidov and Kunayev, Shchelokov and Medunov, the "Dnepropetrovsk retinue" as personified by Tikhonov, and then the Chernenko "phenomenon"—all this should be a dire warning to political workers of any rank and level.

Throughout the ages all the peoples have believed that state leadership requires a certain training, because the people's fate depends on it to a great extent. We need not talk about the ancient world, where people like Aristotle and Seneca were the mentors of the rulers. In our own Russia the heir to the throne had as mentor Pushkin's close friend Zhukovskiy. But even in modern states it is considered generally accepted that this work needs natural gifts, education, the cultivation of a sense of civic responsibility, many years' training in political activity and participation in public and state affairs, oratorical powers, and the skills of an expert in public affairs. Let us not cite Western experience—we do not have to follow their example, we can grow a beard as well as the next man. But we grew beards of our own, and then shaved them off, amid great trials and tribulations, bruising not only individuals, but the whole people, before we realized: No, not every obkom secretary can lead our great state.

From the moment of the revolution the traditions of a new school of political leadership began to develop. Its main principle was social affiliation: A man should not be exalted, or rich, or highly educated, but his own man, the people's man. Of course, no one took the familiar saying that every cook can lead the state to be realistic in our time. Immediately after the revolution, the top leadership did not include a single cook, or, indeed, a single worker or peasant. In Lenin's time the Politburo and nearly all members of the party Central Committee came from among the intelligentsia or the liberal semi-intelligentsia. Brilliant or not particularly brilliant publicists, impassioned agitators, leaders, guides. At the time the mass heeded and trusted them with nothing like the expression of feigned stupidity that we saw in the image of the peasant in the famous movie "Man With a Rifle" ["Chelovek s Ruzhyem"].

After Lenin's death that generation of leaders was swept away by Stalin's successive purges. It was replaced by a younger generation, notable for strong characters but a lower standard of education and culture. But that generation was overthrown in 1936-1938. And then there came a generation of people the vast majority of whom did not take part in the revolution, but who did have a certain level of specifically party-based education. Many of them carved out a fabulous career, advancing by leaps and bounds, rising in a few years from the status of ordinary workers to that of ministers.

Brezhnev belonged to this third generation. His path was marked by progress purely within the apparatus. However carefully we study that period, we cannot detect any trace of public statements by the future general secretary. He skillfully maintained silence, skillfully "worked on" the patron he needed, and slowly but surely made his ascent.

Another problem was that none of our leaders took the trouble to train his successor or successors. We will not talk about Stalin—the slightest suspicion that such a person had appeared would have been enough for him to grind the potential candidate for his post into dust. He even said openly to his so-called comrades in arms: "I'll die, and you will fall apart without me, you will perish!" This was probably the source of the delighted realization immediately after Stalin's death: "Uninterrupted leadership of the state is ensured." Stalin's children and proteges were themselves astonished that after his death the sky did not fall in and the helm of state did not slip from their feeble hands....

To be fair, I should say that not even Lenin concerned himself with a successor. In his political testament he gave a characterization of each of the remaining top leaders, consisting mainly of criticisms. But even he could not see the man (and therefore did not raise the man) who could become the leader of the party and country after him. Khrushchev reproduced this tradition entirely. He allowed close to him only obedient executors of his will, though doubtless he had no idea that Brezhnev could become his successor in the highest post. True, Khrushchev promoted young men like Andropov, and, indeed, Shelepin, but he kept them at a sufficient distance.

In general, in all the countries of the modern world the underside of political leadership has been subject to pernicious erosion. The most probable causes of this phenomenon are the development of "mass" democracy on the one hand and monstrous bureaucracy on the other. This is what gives rise to the "weathercock leader" who tries to please both sides. For a long time we thought that we were protected from these ills by the very fact of the existence of a centralized, planned society that can direct its own development intelligently. But here great disappointments lay in store for us. First and foremost with regard to political leadership, which turned out not to be wise enough to assume the functions that properly belong to the entire party and people.

So a reform of the entire tradition of political leadership is needed. The 19th party conference started the great cause of the reform of our entire political system. This was the first step, but not the last. It will need much thought and much action to ensure that a new Brezhnev, or, worse, a new Chernenko cannot appear, not only at the very top, but even among the top leadership. Because it is obvious now that a man who cannot lead inevitably resorts to the artificial imposition of a cult, the squandering of public property, and corruption.

Cadre rotation is a major, happy solution. But guarantees are needed, to ensure that weak or, worse, corrupt leaders do not come to power even for 5 years or, worse, for 10. It is necessary to shift the center of gravity toward the public activity of candidates for the highest posts and, of course, to ensure that they are genuinely elected.

The art of government is the most complex art of all, including the military arts and the fine arts. We started winning the war against fascism when Voroshilov, Budennyy, Timoshenko, and Kulik were succeeded by Zhukov, Rokossovskiy, Konev, Meretskov, and Tolbukhin. The same applies in politics. Restructuring means a transition in the leadership from cadres of the Brezhnev type to talented, modern leaders capable of bringing about drastic changes and taking the long-term view. Not to mention the demands of the public good and elementary morality. in a word, we need masters of the art of leadership, not apprentices, still less idle consumers of prestige, power, and privilege.

The most important guarantee against a recurrence of Brezhnevism is socialist pluralism, which the party has hit upon and is now implementing. It has its model in the Lenin period. At the same time we have the potential to go considerably further. Exaggerated fears about the extremes of glasnost—and such extremes undoubtedly do accompany the generally healthy flow—do not reflect concern for socialism, they are generated by an authoritarian political culture.

Here what we are up against most of all is the conservative tradition. Russian political culture did not tolerate pluralism of opinions or freedom to criticize government activity. It was only after the 1905 revolution that a small breach was made. But even then it was basically impossible to criticize the czar, czarism, or the existing system.

After the revolution, by one of the first decrees, measures were adopted against the counterrevolutionary press of various hues. But these measures were referred to as temporary, arising from the exacerbation of the class struggle. It is equally characteristic that immediately after the end of the Civil War Lenin returned to the approach that formerly existed in our party, which invariably enshrined the right of freedom to express opinions in its programs. Pluralism within the party, trade unions, soviets, peasant associations, and especially in the sphere of culture was the usual norm and an important aspect of the New Economic Policy [NEP]. And it was discarded together with the NEP at the end of the twenties. Khrushchev did something to restore this glasnost, but Brezhnev buried it again.

Guarantees of minority rights are associated with our pluralism—and have we not seen from our own experience how important that is? The revolutionary restructuring, at least in its initial stage, was based on the ideas, views, and will not of the majority, but of a minority. This has basically always been the case when it comes to a struggle between the new and the old. The most virginal and graceful of all democracies—that of Athens—decided, through the mouth of the majority, that Socrates must drink poison. Drink it, Socrates, drink it, since the majority demands it! And in our country, did not Stalin draw on the will of the majority in the thirties? We will say nothing of his comrades in arms, with them no questions were asked. Even Khrushchev, the mighty destroyer of the personality cult, sincerely and selflessly took part in slaughter by the will of the majority. The majority thought Bukharin was wrong. Go then, Nikolay Ivanovich, don't look back, the bullet will find its hole....

And most recently Brezhnev—surely he was not alone? The vast majority in the government apparatus idolized him, receiving everything from him—titles, prizes, academy money, dacha buildings, bribes. He was also supported by those social strata that lived fearlessly, and still live now, on unearned income.

How can one provide guarantees for the minority, its will, its interests, its views? The minority, which today is apparently wrong, but tomorrow could become the main champion of progress? Only by means of personal rights—in the party, the state, and other institutions of the political system: freedom to think, speak, write, seek the truth, and strive for its recognition—there is no other way.

Of course, even the minority cannot always be right. Therefore it must also know its place and take account of the will of the majority. Otherwise there can be no discipline and no order—in no organization or state. So it only has the right to claim autonomy within the bounds of what is generally accepted. But even this autonomy, clearly defined by statutes, laws, and political practice, could be a tremendous gain for our democracy.

In the sphere of science and culture guarantees of minority rights are commonplace, although even here we have suffered from considerable bureaucratic coercion. It has not yet been erased from our memory how the majority persecuted genetics, anathematized the theory of relativity and cybernetics, rejected jazz, and still more rock and roll, wiped out abstract art, and rejected sociology and political science. Now it seems to be accepted that he who murders thought is three times a murderer. But there are other spheres that touch more closely on power and politics, and where it is hard to guarantee the autonomy of the minority in the name of alternative solutions. Here we need particularly fine and accurate work by the legislator's chisel, to carve out the balance in combining the views and interests of the majority and the minority, true socialist pluralism.

And finally—down with flatterers in political life! Doubtless all political leaders, from all peoples, like flattery. But in our own time Stalin and Brezhnev liked flattery of the most exaggerated variety, the cult variety. And not because they believed in such praise, but because the humiliation of the flatterer, his trampled, flattened demeanor, pleased them. Some of our homegrown Fouches and Talleyrands have gone through all the political regimes as easily as a knife through butter, and are now bustling feverishly in the struggle for self-preservation.

Fortunately people who have a clear program for the country's development and regard radical political reform as paramount have come and are coming to power in our country. Let us hope that the formation of a new school of political leadership and a new democratic culture of the whole people has begun. This will be a safe guarantee against a recurrence of Stalinist and Brezhnevian traditions.

Kornyenko Dismisses Brezhnev Doctrine

AU1609124688 Rome ANSA in English 1216 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] (ANSA) Florence, September 16—The new course in the Soviet Union will be characterised by "noninterference" in internal affairs of other countries with the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty firmly consigned to the trash-can, according to Georgiy Kornynenko, deputy head of the Soviet Communist Party's Foreign Affairs Department.

"We've given up the Brezhnev principle of limited sovereignty," he said during a debate Thursday evening at La Festa Dell' Unita', the annual jamboree of the Italian Communist Party, the largest in the West.

The Festa, which lasts about a fortnight, is expected to draw about a couple of million visitors, to a mix of politic debates, film screenings, concerts, theatrical events, and, for many, unusual meals in the more than twenty restaurants of various nationalities present at the Campi Bisenzio area near here.

"We think a state's sovereignty must not be limited by anything or anyone, whatever its nature," said Kornyenko to one of the crowds of hundreds, or sometimes thousands that attend the political debates. "Every people has the right to choose its own development, and no state or party has the right to impose its own path of development, even if it is the best".

The Soviet ambassador in Rome, Nikolay Lunkov, who was also at the debate, told one questioner that he knew nothing about eventual plans to rehabilitate the leader of the Prague spring, Alexander Dubcek. "I can't express judgments on perestroyka in the Soviet Union's allies," he explained.

In other points, Kornyenko said he could not rule out that Italian movie director Carlo Lizzani's film on Stalin's execution of Bolshevik leader, Nikolay Bukharin, will be distributed in the Soviet Union.

The film, entitled "Dear Gorbachev," which was presented at the Venice film festival, describes the last hours Bukharin spent at home with his wife before his arrest and execution. His widow, who memorised his last testament during that dramatic night, is currently in Italy. Bukharin was recently rehabilitated in the Soviet Union.

Kornyenko also answered questions about the unity of the leftist movements and organisations in the world, pointing out that, in recent years, the Soviet Communist

Party has developed ties with other European communist parties which do not necessarily follow Moscow's line, as well as with socialist and social democrat parties.

Post-Chernobyl Health Program Detailed

AU1609100788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Sep 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "A Shield of Prophylaxis"]

[Text] **"As noted in a PRAVDA article by Ye.I. Chazov, USSR minister of health, in connection with overcoming the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, a register has been created for persons under special clinical observation. What kind of observation is this, and how long is it supposed to continue? What categories of the population come under this register?**

[Signed] "K. Stepanchuk, the city of Zhitomir."

In preparing a reply to these questions, a PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent visited the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine under the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the republic's specialized clinic for protection against radiation. Here is what he has been told by scientists and physicians:

"The all-union register encompasses several large groups," said Professor V.G. Bebeshko, director of the Clinical Radiology Institute within the Center for Radiation Medicine. "Above all, it encompasses persons who directly participated in eliminating the accident at the AES, as well as the population evacuated from the 30-km zone. It also applies to the inhabitants of villages located close to the zone, in areas with more intense radioactivity. The register as a whole—in other words, the special category for clinical observation—encompasses more than 600,000 persons. The leadership for all sectors of this work has been concentrated in Obninsk, but the Center for Radiation Medicine and the specialized clinic organized in the Ukraine are in charge of a significant part of the work—the compilation of subregisters.

"While characterizing the group of persons affected by radiation sickness, it is to be emphasized that the overwhelming majority of them have recovered, and more than 80 percent have returned to work, mostly to previous jobs or positions close to them. As a matter of fact, with regard to more that 90 persons a subsequent analysis has made it possible to cancel this diagnosis. But this by no means signifies that, in overcoming the accident at Chernobyl, our clinical observation of this group or of other participants has slackened.

"The Clinical Radiology Institute in Pushcha Voditsa has at its disposal the necessary, well-equipped base, and its departments of various types are staffed by experienced physician of various specialities. In addition to sanatorium and spa treatment, it gives the patients a prolonged course of medical rehabilitation that significantly reduces the risk of any complications. This is as if it were the continuation of the purposeful treatment program that proved to be highly effective in the first weeks after the accident.

"The results of the close observation of other groups in the register convincingly show that diseases directly or indirectly connected with the effects of radioactivity have not been revealed, even in one single case. And this also confirms that the tactic applied at the beginning was correct and opportune. Nonetheless, we will continue our clinical observation. It has been scheduled and is being carried out in every detail."

"In clinical observation of this kind there are several stages," said N.A. Kurilenko, chief physician in the republic's specialized clinical center. "And it starts at the medical establishment servicing people at the places where they live. A great deal has been done by consultative teams of specialists set up at the clinical center and the institute. In their field trips, they have surveyed literally hundreds of localities, thus ensuring that the observation was close and complete. At the same time, the clinical center has provided a multifaceted consulting polyclinic, a radiation monitoring sector, a complex of laboratories, and a base for convalescence. Thus, children who need additional examinations and recovery receive preventive treatment in permanent departments of the clinical center."

"To provide the persons in the register with medical service is a matter of state importance," said B.A. Ledoshchuk, laboratory chief at the Center for Radiation Medicine. "We strive to accomplish our tasks in a comprehensive way. And the fact that no one from among those persons within the subregisters had suffered from ionizing radiation does not signify that they are all well and that medical services can be curtailed. The spectrum of examinations made—and they actually imply a model of a universal clinic system—has made it possible to reveal among people such diseases as, for example, high blood pressure, metabolic disorders, gastritis, cholecystitis, sickness involving the teeth and gums, and so forth. Taking into account contact with radioactive substances, particularly in the areas under observation in which the radioaction background is somewhat more elevated, the risk factors are obvious. And the healthier people are, the less likely the influence of radiation."

"The scientific aspect of the issue is an essential element in achieving the objectives set for the register," said Doctor of Medical Sciences V.A. Buzunov, director of the Institute for Epidemiology and the Prevention of Radiation Diseases. "In particular, it is essential to have complete data about the health conditions of the younger generations, and not only yesterday's conditions, but also those of today and tomorrow, so that these data may also be used in the remote future. This is why a data bank has been created to store information with the most up-to-date computing equipment.

"Nuclear power engineering exists and will exist, and modern medicine is unthinkable without radioisotopic research. Consequently, one of our tasks is to have a look at these processes and patterns from the viewpoint of medicine. All this is also related to the professional selection of AES staff, because the experience of Chernobyl teaches us that the initial psychological and physiological parameters of this category of power engineers must not be disregarded. And, if I may use a metaphor, the register is the shield of prophylaxis."

"The large-scale medical tasks connected with the effects of the accident at the AES were set by the party and the government immediately after the event," concluded A.Ye. Romanenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of health and general director of the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine. "Research and measures connected with the register are only a portion of these many-sided social realities. But they show with particular clarity the effectiveness of the Soviet health services, the advantages of their planned, state-like nature, and their great scientific potential.

"Both what happened and the measures taken were unprecedented and without example," the minister emphasized. "This is why this work, including many nuances of a purely medical-organizational and scientific nature, has aroused such passionate public interest. How are we working, to what extent is the repercussion of Chernobyl safe, what guidelines are there for the future? All this made up an important item on the agenda of the international scientific conference that was held in Kiev in the middle of last May on the medical aspects of the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. Health and man are the objective of these truly enormous efforts and are the standard of our work."

Economic

50 Factories, Organizations Declared Bankrupt

LD1609232188 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] The USSR Industrial and Engineering Bank has declared about 50 factories, plants, and organizations bankrupt. A spokesperson for the bank, (Galina Levina), said in an interview the radical economic reform underway in the country is incompatible with parasitism. The equipment, premises, and raw material stocks of such enterprises are to be sold.

Official Explains New Customs Duty Rates

PM1509134188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with K. Kovalchuk, administration chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control, by TASS correspondents A. Antonov and V. Yegorov under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "New Duty Rates"]

[Text] The telephone rang in the editorial office. A friend complained that as of 1 September new customs rules had been introduced which he claimed literally "fleece" anyone who crosses the border. "Just imagine, a duty of 10 kopeks has to be paid for every brand name razor blade," he complained.

Does this accord with reality? To find the answer to the question TASS correspondents A. Antonov and V. Yegorov went to Komsomolskaya Square where the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control is situated.

K. Kovalchuk, chief of an administration at the main administration, announced:

"The Main Administration is also getting telephone calls. So let's introduce some clarity to this question. As of 1 September this year, what we have introduced are not new rules for letting goods through the USSR state border, but new customs duty rates. And the new rates in no way 'fleece' people; they make customs rules more democratic and liberal. After all, customs does not stand aloof from the restructuring processes taking place in the country.

"It must be admitted that the old duty rates were very high and in fact were of a prohibitive nature and did not accord with citizens' present-day interests. The size of the new rates has been considerably reduced. Suffice it to say that the duty for many objects had reached 75-200 percent of their price. Now the duty will on average be 10-30 percent of retail prices in the USSR. Let us stress that the new rates are applied, as was the case formerly, in cases where the number of objects is in excess of the duty-free allowance."

[Correspondents] And how do you now determine the maximum quantity of goods, primarily clothing, footwear, and other everyday items, which can be brought in duty free?

[Kovalchuk] I should like to note that here, too, there have been substantial changes and in a beneficial direction. Soviet citizens are allowed to bring into the USSR duty-free items within the limits of their personal needs purchased abroad with foreign currency they have earned or acquired by any legal means. The list of items on which duty is levied if they are brought in in excess of the duty-free allowance has been considerably reduced. The remaining restrictions concern mainly domestic equipment: video and television apparatus, microcomputers, and so forth. But even here Soviet citizens returning to the USSR after a stay abroad on official business and the members of their families are each allowed one item of each kind; that is, a family of three can bring in without paying: three tape recorders, three video recorders, three video cameras, and so forth.

Of course, it is impossible to comment on each specific case. In addition work is continuing on a number of existing provisions. That is why where necessary it is possible to appeal directly to the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control.

[Correspondents] Konstantin Alekseyevich, please tell us how duty rates have changed on, for example, automobiles.

[Kovalchuk] The customs duty previously set for importing to the USSR foreign automobiles purchased by citizens other than in Soviet institutions abroad was R7,500 for a "Volga" class automobile and R3,500 for a "Zhiguli" class automobile. The procedure has now been radically altered. The duty on foreign automobiles imported to the USSR is 20 percent of the set duty rate. If the automobile was used for personal and official purposes, a customs duty of 10 percent has been established. The size of the duty is determined on the basis of engine volume. For instance, for an automobile with an engine of less than 1,300 cubic centimeters (the "Zhiguli" class), this agreed upon sum is calculated at R5 per cubic centimeter of engine volume—that is R6,500. The duty on an automobile used only for personal purposes is 20 percent of this agreed sum and is equal to R1,300. Judge for yourselves—that is not the R3,500 previously extracted. As yet our automobile market is not saturated, so please bring them in... The duty on trailers, semitrailers, and trailers for passenger automobiles has been reduced tenfold. While previously it was 200 percent of their cost, now it is only 20 percent. Soviet-made automobiles and foreign automobiles bought in Soviet institutions abroad are imported to the USSR duty free.

[Correspondents] And what changes have taken place in the procedure for receiving parcels from abroad? After all it is no secret that until recently there were serious restrictions here.

[Kovalchuk] I can say that many customs barriers have also been removed in this matter. The list of items which may be mailed from abroad to the USSR to individuals has been considerably expanded. Thus, for instance, it is permitted to send radio and video electronic apparatus, photographic apparatus, movie cameras and video cameras, musical instruments including all types of electronic sound and video recording devices, personal microcomputers and storage devices for them, religious literature, objects of religious ritual, and so forth. The payment of customs duty for items sent by international mail is made by the recipient of the parcel according to the new customs duty rates we mentioned above.

In answering your question I should particularly like to stress the fact that as of 1 July this year operations involving invoiced [fakturno-litsenzionnyye] parcels have been updated. What does that mean? These are in principle the same items sent by international mail, the sole difference being that all expenses connected with customs duty are paid not by the parcel's recipient in the USSR but by its dispatcher abroad.

Right now the all-union "Vneshneposyltorg" association with the participation of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control has signed relevant contracts for the implementation of these operations with firms in the FRG, Austria, and Switzerland. The question of signing similar contracts with firms in the United States, Canada, Australia, Denmark, Britain, France, and other countries is being studied. All this will serve the further consolidation of contacts between citizens of the USSR and other countries.

Agriculture

Early Sep Weather, Crop Development Viewed

PM1509114788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Sep 88 p 2

[Agrometeorologist T. Ivashneva report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Across most of the country's European territory the weather has been changeable. The average temperature for the 10-day period was within the limits of the perennial average or 1-2 degrees lower. The nights were mainly mild (8-15 degrees). In the Karelian ASSR, in Leningrad and Arkhangelsk Oblasts, in the north of Perm and Sverdlovsk Oblasts, and in the Komi ASSR air and ground frosts were recorded.

Heavy rain fell in Moldavia, in most of the Ukraine, the Central Chernozem, North Caucasus and Urals Regions, and in Saratov Oblast. Overall 25-60 mm of precipitation fell here during the 10-day period, and in places 65-85 mm, which is respectively 2-5 times and 6-7 times above the norm. In the regions indicated, over a period of 4-6 days agricultural work connected with harvesting potatoes, root crops, and corn was interrupted because of rain, as were soil cultivation and winter grain crop sowing. But rain significantly supplemented supplies of productive moisture in the soil, which is having a favorable effect on winter crops' growth and development.

In the North, Volga-Vyatka, and Urals regions and in the north of the Northwest Region winter grain crops sown before 20 August tillered. In fields sown later and also in the main areas of the Central, Central Chernozem, and

Volga Regions winter rye and wheat were in the shooting or third leaf stage. In most oblasts in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and in the Baltic Region sowing was in progress.

In the Transcaucasian republics cool weather predominated. The average air temperature was 2-4 degrees below the perennial average, and in Azerbaijan close to it. In the daylight hours the air warmed to between 25 and 29 degrees, and in west Georgia and in Azerbaijan up to between 30 and 33 degrees. In the mountain regions of Georgia and Armenia there were slight frosts. Precipitation in the form of rain, and in the mountains also in the form of wet snow, fell on 1 to 3 days. In Azerbaijan the optimum agrometeorological conditions took shape for the formation and opening of cotton bolls. On 10 September in the republic an average of about 60 percent of bolls which had formed had opened.

In the agricultural regions of West and East Siberia in the first days of the 10-day period the weather was warm. The maximum air temperature rose to between 23 and 29 degrees, and in the Altay Kray to between 30 and 32 degrees. Then it grew cold. Almost everywhere air and ground frosts ranging from minus 1 to minus 6 degrees were recorded. The average air temperature for the 10-day period was close to the perennial average, in Altay Kray it was 2-3 degrees higher. In Kazakhstan warm weather persisted for most of the 10-day period. The average air temperature exceeded the perennial average by 2-5 degrees. In the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan, in West Siberia and in Krasnoyarsk Kray the harvesting of spring grain crops was taking place in favorable conditions.

Warm, dry weather persisted in Central Asia. The maximum air temperature was 34-38 degrees, in Turkmenia it was 39-42 degrees. These conditions accelerated the opening and ripening of cotton bolls and also assisted additional boll formation at the top of the plant. At the end of the 10-day period the average number of bolls formed per bush was 9-12, and in Surkhan-Darya, Ashkhabad, Mary, Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Oblasts 13-19. In most regions of the Central Asian republics manual harvest of raw cotton continued, and machine harvesting began.

Current Cotton Harvest Status Reviewed

PM1709152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[I. Totskiy report under the rubric "Harvest-88: Between the Lines of the Operational Summary": "Cotton Grower's Turn"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports: By 12 September grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been cut on 97 million hectares and threshed on 94.4 million hectares. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have laid in store for the winter 74.4 million tonnes of hay, 83.1 million tonnes of haylage, and 163.9 million tonnes of silage. The country's farms have procured an average of 13 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock, although almost twice as much needs to be laid in store. Straw is being gathered from the fields only slowly in certain regions. Straw remains in shocks on tens of millions of hectares.

The fall sky is increasingly frequently overcast. The farmer is already having to count the fine days. Meanwhile, grain, rice, corn, sunflowers, beets, potatoes, and flax still await his solicitous hands.

It is also the cotton growers' turn to gather the harvest. It has proved a weighty one for the contract teams of A. Khodzhimuratov, B. Isakaliyev, Zh. Kadyrova, and E. Akhunov. The "Pravda Vostoka" Kolkhoz in Andizhan Oblast's Leninskiy Rayon, where these collectives work, has decided to sell 8,000 tonnes of raw cotton to the state instead of the planned 7,415 tonnes.

Farmers in the Tajik SSR's Vakhshskiy Rayon plan to send 40,000 tonnes of high quality raw cotton to procurement centers. Having grown a good harvest, the "Moskva" and "Leningrad" Kolkhozes and the "Turkmenistan" and Kirov Sovkhozes have successfully begun gathering it. On the "Leningrad" Kolkhoz, for example, more than 40 family links and 20 teams which have assimilated contracting are working excellently.

Reports coming from the fields indicate that this year's cotton harvest has not disappointed the farmers' hopes. Many farms are reckoning on coping successfully with the raw cotton sales plan. At the same time, there is an abiding sense of alarm: Will difficulties over selling the fiber really arise again? Last year, when farms produced almost 1 million tonnes of cotton less than planned, part of the gathered harvest was never sent to textile workers. In Uzbekistan alone 25,000 tonnes of fiber have been lying around for several months now.

Every year the cotton harvest arouses a feeling of anxiety in many enterprises, schools, and VUZ's in the Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan. However, the experience of many Tajik farms proves that with skillful labor organization and efficient use of machinery patronal assistance can be reduced to a minimum or ruled out altogether.

In Surkhan-Darya Oblast, for example, the bulk of the raw cotton harvest (no less than 300,000 tonnes) passes through the mechanical hands of machines. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the oblast reckon on gathering 75-80 percent of the harvest with their help.

Every year other farms also plan to machine-harvest more than half the cotton. Every year these plans remain only on paper. Perhaps there are not enough combines? In Turkmenia, for example, there are 11,000 cotton-harvesting machines, although far fewer are needed. There is a surplus of them in other republics as well. It is no coincidence that almost half of them do not participate in harvesting. On the other hand, masters of hand harvesting work by the sweat of their brow, as the saying goes, and for long months. Yet each machine could replace 40-50 people.

Why, then, is equipment pensioned off in certain regions? Some people refer to the surplus of work hands, who have to be employed. Others refer to the smallness [melkokonturnost] of the fields and their bad preparation for machine harvesting. Yet others point to the imperfect nature of combines. This is a serious rebuke to machine builders. But many machine operators, who do not know how to adjust the machine properly, also deserve a similar rebuke. As a result, the average seasonal output per combine stands at approximately 50 tonnes of cotton. And yet it pays for itself only if it harvests 100-120 tonnes of raw cotton, which, incidentally, is achieved by experienced, highly skilled machine operators.

When gathering the harvest, economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] collectives which have assimilated various forms of contract do not forget the subsequent fate of the cotton fields placed under their trusteeship. In the fall they endeavor to fulfill all agrotechnical requirements and to lay a reliable basis for the harvest. Seed-growing farms are particularly accountable for this. They still frequently let down cotton growers. The irresponsibility and lack of control displayed during seed preparation in Uzbekistan last year resulted in 70 percent of the seed cotton not meeting State All-Union Standard norms with regard to moisture, and 1 tonne in every 3 had above-normative mechanical damage. Cotton growers suffered a considerable loss—they received only 50 percent of first-class seeds and were forced to overexpend a huge amount of seed material.

Now that economic accountability has made many farmers count every kopek, they have clearly seen for themselves the great significance of cotton-alfalfa crop rotations in developing the sector, increasing yields, and improving the economy. But quite a strong barrier has still been erected in their way. In Kirghizia, for example, such crop rotations have been assimilated on just 5.6 percent of cotton fields, in Azerbaijan on one-fourth, and in Tajikistan on one-third. Of course, farm leaders and specialists know that crop rotation will both increase the cotton harvest and provide more feed for livestock wintering. But for some reason they have no wish to stand up for it. It also must not be forgotten that crop rotation sharply reduces spending on fertilizers and cuts the need for irrigation water by approximately 20 percent. In addition, it is the most effective means of combating wilt, which causes the country to suffer a shortfall of 300,000-400,000 tonnes of cotton every year.

Machines dash about the snow-white fields, and the pickers' dexterous hands flash over the bushes. Hard, strenuous work. And how important that it should pay for itself in full and that farmers should gladden textile workers with good raw materials.

Scientific

Still No Radio Contact With 'Phobos-1'

LD1609135088 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—Radio contact with the unmanned probe Phobos-1 has not been regained to this day, a top Soviet space official told a news conference here today.

Aleksandr Dunayev, chief of the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos, said this in reply to a question about the progress of an international project involving two Soviet space vehicles, Phobos-1 and Phobos-2, which were launched to the Martian moon Phobos last July.

He explained that a technical mistake in ground controlling has destabilized Phobos-1, disrupting its orientation at the sun, but every measure is being taken to try and restore communication with the probe.

Phobos-2, Dunayev said, is continuing its flight according to the program.

'Reusable Spaceship' Launch Possible 'This Year'

LD1609123088 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—"I think that we will be able to launch a reusable spaceship this year," a Soviet space administration official said here today.

Aleksandr Dunayev, chief of the Glavkosmos Space Administration of the Soviet Union, told Soviet and foreign newsmen that the USSR would not allow the launching unless all ground tests were conducted.

He emphasised that use of space shuttles would enable the Soviet Union to broaden considerably cooperation in the study and exploration of outer space for peaceful purposes on a commercial basis.

'Cosmos-1969' Satellite Launched 15 Sep

LD1609073688 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—On September 15, 1988 the Soviet Union blasted off another satellite, Cosmos-1969, with a Soyuz carrier rocket.

The satellite carries scientific equipment to continue space explorations. The satellite is put into orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—89.7 minutes,
Apogee—373 km,
Perigee—178 km,
Orbital inclination—67 degrees.

Apart from scientific equipment, the satellite carries the following:

A radio system for precise measuring of orbital elements,

A radio system to transmit data to the earth about operation of instruments and equipment.

Equipment at the satellite operates smoothly.

The coordination computing centre processes incoming information.

3 Navigational Satellites Launched 16 Sep

LD1609142788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1412 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 16 Sep (TASS)—Three artificial earth satellites, "Cosmos-1970," "Cosmos-1971," and "Cosmos-1972," were launched in the USSR today by a single carrier rocket. They are intended to develop the components and apparatus of the space navigation system created to enable USSR civil aircraft, merchant ships, and fishing vessels to obtain position fixes.

The satellites have been launched into a near-circular orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—11 hours 14 minutes;
Distance from the earth's surface—19,102 kilometers;
Orbital inclination—64.8 degrees. The apparatus on board the satellites is operating normally.

Further on Joint Soviet-Afghan Flight

News Conference Noted

LD1709022788 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—The Soviet-Afghan space flight opened up a new page in the relations between the two countries, providing an eloquent example of fruitful international cooperation in the peaceful study and uses of outer space, Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the Glavkosmos of the USSR, said at a press conference held here today.

Speaking about the results of the Soviet-Afghan space flight, he specifically stressed the importance of the "Shamshad" comprehensive experiment in remote sensing of the earth. Its results will be used in the development of different sectors of Afghanistan's economy. But a large amount of work still lies ahead for scientists and specialists, for the fact is that the results obtained will take about one year to analyse and process.

There is no doubt that we shall draw serious conclusions from the fact that the landing of the Soviet-Afghan crew had to be shifted for technical reasons from 6 to 7 September, said Vladimir Shatalov, head of the centre for the training of cosmonauts. All the stages in the preparation of the crews will be subjected to a more rigid control. And although it appears that we are trying to forsee and to "play out" all non-standard situations, life has shown that outer space still keeps many unexpected surprises for us, General Shatalov said.

Questioned by newsmen about his observance of religious rites in space, Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad answered that it was simply impossible to perform the "namaz" in zero gravity since you cannot even fix your body in a particular position up there. But he did take a copy of the Koran with him and read suras from it. He said that his wife also said prayers back on earth. She prayed for our safe return to earth. Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad said that the Soviet cosmonauts treated his religious rites with respect and understanding.

Lyakhov on Flight Extension

LD1709023288 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—"The space flight on the Soviet orbital Mir complex will always remind me of the friendly attitude of the Soviet people to the Afghan people", the Afghan reseacher cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad said at a press conference held here today. The press conference was devoted to the results of the Soviet-Afghan space flight which lasted from August 29 to September 7. The Afghan cosmonaut said he was confident that the flight would bring the two peoples closer together.

He said that following the putting of the craft in low earth orbit he did not feel any discomfort and felt quite well throughout the flight. Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad said that his adaptation to zero gravity was relatively swift.

Appearing before newsmen, Vladimir Lyakhov, a Soviet cosmonaut and crew commander, told them about the research program pursued on-board the Mir station. The program included an experiment in remote sensing of the earth, as well as scientific, technological, medical, biological investigations and experiments. He said there were plans to use the pictures of Afghan territory made by the Mir orbital complex in the interests of Afghanistan's economy.

Vladimir Lyakhov then spoke about the causes of the unplanned extension of the flight's duration by a day. He said that the decision to this effect was taken following two abortive attempts to fire the braking engine to put the landing craft on a trajectory for the return to earth. "During the last twenty-four hours of the flight we stayed in the landing craft without taking off the space-suits," Lyakhov said. "Despite the unexpected mulfunction in the descent program, we did not lose the presence of mind. I want to note that Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad acted calmly in that situation, assisting me in my work. On September 7 the craft landed softly in the designated area."

Vladimir Lyakhov expressed his thanks to Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, the crew of the main expedition on the Mir station, who today are in their 270th day of the flight. Valery Polyakov, who flew into space with the Soviet-Afghan crew on August 29, has stayed with them onboard the Mir complex.

PRAVDA on Problems, Reaction

PM1509135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by V. Gubarev: "Along Exploit Avenue. V. Lyakhov and Mohmand Back in Zvezdnyy Gorodok"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet-Afghan space expedition now belongs to history. Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad have walked along Zvezdnyy Gorodok's legendary avenue of glory. It starts at the monument to Yuriy Gagarin and ends at the House of Culture. The traditional rally took place there. It was the last point on this fine, dramatic flight, which demanded of its participants not only the highest professional skill but also courage, endurance, and total self-possession.... [passage omitted]

Cosmonauts are people of few words who like to talk to others about pleasant things, leaving to themselves the tragic element, the pain, and the emotions. This applies particularly to Vladimir Lyakhov. I have known him a long time and have chatted with him many times both on earth and during radio sessions with his space expeditions from the flight control center. He spent 175 days in space with V. Ryumin and 150 with A. Aleksandrov. All kinds of things happened during those expeditions—very difficult trials were the crews' lot. It is sufficient to recall the epic involving the antenna that caught on Salyut-6's structures, when V. Ryumin and V. Lyakhov made a "voyage" around the station to free it.... In general, there were many difficulties, but every time I heard Vladimir's voice from space—a calm, confident tone— what had happened did not seem so terrible. This was the case this time too.

The world press sounded the alarm. "The Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts on board the craft which has separated from the Mir station cannot return to earth for the time being...." "Drama in space..." "The cosmonauts' greatest danger is exhaustion of the oxygen supplies within 2 days. Last night they made an unsuccessful attempt to put the craft into the right orbit for landing...." "Yesterday's brief drama in space reminds us of the risk run by all who conduct research outside the earth's atmosphere...." These are lines from newspapers on various continents. What happened was described in detail in Australia and Europe, America and Africa. Unfortunately, not always objectively. Some journalists tried to cast aspersions on the crew's actions, and primarily those of the commander—Vladimir Lyakhov. I must clarify. A competent commission will undoubtedly make a careful study of all the details of what happened—this is the first time such a thing has happened in orbit, and cosmonauts have not rehearsed such a situation even during training sessions. But it is already clear that the "third cosmonaut" on board the craft requires more careful control and management. I mean the on-board computer, which we journalists figuratively called the "third" crew member. Until this flight it operated faultlessly, considerably facilitating the commander's work. However, this malfunction gives cause for concern. There can be no doubt that part of the program "remained" in the computer and that there were errors in control of the computer from earth. Mistakes and errors cost too much at this time.... And they have to be paid for in orbit.

"There was water and food only in the emergency reserve," V. Lyakhov said, "but we decided not to touch them—suppose we needed them after landing.... The greatest unpleasantness was the almost total immobility in a bent posture. Only for a few seconds did we release ourselves from our seats in order to 'surface' just a little, flex our muscles, and relax. There was a massive amount of everyday discomforts.... Of course, there is little that is pleasant in all this, but who said that our profession consists just of fanfares?! It is hard, real man's work."

V. Lyakhov and Mohmand passed the tough space test with honor. That was why Zvezdnyy Gorodok, where their space exploit had begun, greeted them so joyfully—with smiles, congratulations, and flowers.

Gromyko Presents Awards

LD1609131688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Today in the Kremlin Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko conferred high awards on the participants in the Soviet-Afghan space flight. Speaking to those who had assembled, he said, in part:

[Begin Gromyko recording] Dear comrades, according to a good tradition, we have gathered today in the festive hall of the Kremlin to greet cordially the heroes of the Soviet-Afghan space flight, Vladimir Afanasyevich Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad. They have worked gloriously in near-earth orbit. They worked for 6 days on board the "Mir" orbital complex alongside Valeriy Vladimirovich Polyakov and the members of the regular crew, Vladimir Georgiyevich Titov and Musa Romanovich Manarov. During this time their complicated program of various joint research and experiments was completely fulfilled.

USSR pilot cosmonaut Vladimir Afanasyevich Lyakhov, space veteran, twice hero of the Soviet Union, has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution, and research cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan, has been awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union with the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star, for the successful implementation of their space flight and the courage and heroism which they displayed during their flight. Muhammed Dauran Ghulam Ma'sum, alternate research cosmonaut and citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan, has been awarded the Order of Friendship of Peoples for his active participation in ensuring the Soviet-Afghan flight.

It is symbolic that this flight was carried out during the year of the 10th anniversary of the April national democratic revolution in Afghanistan. It demonstrated convincingly the fruitfulness of the close multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan. It has turned a new page in the history of good-neighborly relations between our countries.

This flight has great scientific and practical significance. The results of the work by the Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts will contribute to the solution of a number of scientific tasks and to the further development of Afghanistan's national economy.

Mankind has witnessed another example of the peaceful use of cosmic space. The flight has confirmed once again that space should serve only peaceful purposes and, under no circumstances, military purposes.

The Soviet-Afghan space flight has not only economic and scientific significance but also great political significance in connection with the fact that it took place at the time the policy of national reconciliation is being implemented in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to see that the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan are strictly fulfilled by all their participants. The aspirations of the Afghan leadership to establish peace on Afghan territory and to confirm their state as independent and neutral are close and understandable to us. The Soviet people wish to see our neighboring country peaceful and its people happy.

The Soviet-Afghan crew coped honorably with the tasks set before them. The cosmonauts justified the trust placed in them. I wish to note in particualar the self-possession displayed by Vladimir Afanasyevich Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad after the successful completion of their program of joint work on board the "Mir" research complex and during the autonomous flight of the "Soyuz TM-5" transport ship. Their return to earth was delayed by a day due to unforeseen circumstances, and the two heroes, both the commander of the crew and the research cosmonaut, displayed willpower and courage in this difficult situation, which demanded extreme self-discipline and endurance.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government I cordially congratulate you, dear heroes, on receiving lofty awards of the Soviet Union. I convey to you the congratulations of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Comittee. From the bottom of my heart I wish you good health, happiness and fresh successes in your work for the benefit of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan and for the benefit of all mankind. [applause] [end recording]

The recipients of the awards expressed their warm thanks for the high evaluation of their work.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Experiments

LD1609113188 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 16 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 16 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre:

The crew of the space research complex Mir, Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov, devoted a considerable part of the past working week to astrophysical experiments.

They made five more series of measurements of the radiation of a supernova in the large Magellanic cloud with the help of the orbital observatory "Roentgen".

The measurements were made within the framework of an international extra-atmospheric atronomical research programme which involves specialists of several European countries.

The cosmonauts made photos of various sections of the celestial sphere in the constellations of Scorpio and Taurus with the help of the ultra-violet telescope "Glazar".

Today they will make ultra-violet photos of the constellation of Perseus.

Today's programme also includes technical experiments, medical research, and maintenance work on the equipment of life-support systems.

According to the medical control plan, the cosmonauts will undergo a comprehensive checkup of their cardiovascular systems.

Physiological parameters will be recorded with the help of the multi-functional device "Gamma-1".

Work on the near-earth orbit is proceeding according to schedule.

The cosmonauts are feeling well.

Plan Visual Observations

LD1809100688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 18 Sep 88

[Text] News from orbit: The crew of the manned "Mir" complex have a day off today. The latest news and music will be transmitted to them in communications sessions. The cosmonauts will devote 2 hours to physical exercise. A short series of visual observations of the earth's surface is planned. It is intended to carry out four series of experiments within the international astrophysical research program using the telescopes of "Mir's" orbital observatory. The station's flight is proceeding in accordance with the planned schedule. The cosmonauts are feeling fine.

Space Research Aids Cartography

LD1609110688 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Soviet cosmonauts have now logged a total of 5,000 days in space. The present orbiting station "Mir" has now been permanently manned since February last year. At the moment it is manned by a three-man crew, Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, and Valeriy Polyakov. Their research program is very versatile, and one significant factor in it is the study of the earth's surface. More about this from our science correspondent, Boris Belitskiy:

[Belitskiy] The crew, now in space for close to 9 months, are doing earth imaging with two cameras. These are the MKF-6M multispectral camera array and the KATE-140 camera. All the imagery goes to the national earth studies center called Priroda, which means nature. There powerful computers translate the imagery into topographic and (?thematic) maps for earth studies. Over 900 organizations now receive [word indistinct] space-acquired information for economic purposes.

As for economic returns, every ruble invested in work of this kind brings in 5 rubles. Here are a few examples of how rewarding such work is. Space imagery has made it possible to fill in blank spots on the maps of the Pamir and Tien Shan mountains. A detailed map of these inaccessible areas has been compiled and hitherto unknown tracts of land have been earmarked for pastures, construction, tourist facilities, and recreation (?zones). Space imaging has also helped to detail maps of the Chukotka Peninsula, the Novaya Zemlya archipelago, the Kurile islands and the Central Asian deserts.

The (?magic) space-derived maps and multispectral mosiacs have enabled specialists to identify a large body of fresh water under the sands of the semidesert area near the Aral Sea, and drilling has confirmed the actual existence of this water, which is suitable for grazing grounds.

Space imaging has also proved a great help in mapping forests, in planning their utilization, protection, and reproduction and in identifying their diseases and pests.

Remote sensing likewise makes it possible to explore the seabed at certain depths, its geological structure, flora, currents, and the pollution of the water. Experiments [words indistinct] have shown that when the water is sufficiently transparant the proper choice of light filter and subsequent processing makes it possible to obtain photographic images of the underwater terrain at great depths.

Space imaging also makes it possible to determine the state and development dynamics of the road network and its effect on the agricultural use of land, to discover faults in the soil cover due to geological exploration, drillings, strip mining. It's also possible on the strength of indirect evidence to detect changes in groundwater patterns caused by engineering and construction work, to discover the discharge of industrial effluents into bodies of water and to detect the harmful effect of industrial gases on forests.

There was a time when cartographers spent centuries to map continents, seas, countries and various geographical features. Now this can be done in the time it takes for a spacecraft to complete a few orbits of the earth.

Marchuk on Competitive Science Projects

LD1509180688 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Irkutsk September 15 TASS—"We go over from financing institutes to financing projects. This means that projects submitted by the branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences will be open to competition," Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, told journalists.

"Each bidder will substantiate ways of solving this or that problem. A competent commission will decide by secret ballot which of the projects is to be preferred. Only then scientists involved will receive funds. In this way all scientific activity is put on competitive basis."

"If before funds were made available to the director of an institute, today it is heads of laboratories, which win the competition, that receive them. A special fund will be set up to finance projects, where results are hard to forecast. It is also based on competition. Responsibility for the resources will rest with a specific researcher, laboratory or department," the president of the USSR Acamdey of Sciences said.

"Initiative and enterprise is what we want from the modern researcher," the academician continued. "So far only the Siberian branch of the USSR Acadmey of sciences has received the right to sell its developments to foreign partners. Much interest is being displayed abroad today in the biostimulators of the Irkutsk Institute of Organic Chemistry, in the detectors of the Institute of Geochemistry and other developments by Siberian scientists."

Academician Marchuk stressed the need to ensure that there is a link between fundamental research and its results being introduced into production on a serious and large-scale basis. "With our knowledge becoming increasingly science intensive, serious adaptation is needed if it is to be introduced into production. We have come to conclusion that allocations should be increased 50 percent to build new facilities, primarily pilot production schemes. [no end quotation marks as received]

Military

Troops Participate in 'Autumn-88' Exercise

LD1809183788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The "Autumn-88" command and staff exercise is in progress in a number of regions of the Ukraine and Moldavia:

[Correspondent V. Lyashko] Fog, slush, and unceasing rain have contributed additional difficulties here, especially during the first stage, when the troops were moving to the concentration areas. These clips were taken during the final part of the march by the troops belonging to one of the Guards motor rifle subunits. Only 2 months ago these young men were taking their oath, and now they are facing the first complex trial—taking part in major exercises. This march, stretching for many kilometers, proceeded under difficult conditions. The young soldiers, however, carried it out without reproach and within the set time frame.

The troops taking part in the exercises have been conventionally divided into two groups: the Northerners and the Southerners. Twice we passed by a position of one of the tank companies belonging to the Southerners—and it is only with the aid of an umpire that we found it, for the tank troops have carried out the construction of field works and camouflage operations with such precision!

But now that the order has been received, it is no longer needed—the tank troops are entering the battle. The chief task of the "Autumn-88" exercise is to practice the elements of the defensive doctrine of our armed forces. Many military specialists and journalists, present at the exercise, note the fact that the current exercise is completely devoid of elements done for show, as was the case previously. Real combat training tasks have been set and the approach toward fulfilling them is businesslike, responsible, and with no desire for outward effects.

Yazov Commands Exercise

LD1509171188 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 15 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—A command-and-staff exercise involving token forces has got under way in the territory of the Soviet constituent republics of the Ukraine and Moldavia and the adjacent part of the Black Sea.

Codenamed "Autumn'88", it is being conducted under the direction of General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defense minister of the USSR.

The forces taking part in the exercise are moving to concentration areas and engaging in terrain organization. The opposing sides, their code names being "the Northerners" and "the Southerners", are preparing to fulfil their combat training tasks.

Military Prosecutors Discuss Draft Evasion

PM1609104588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by Justice Colonel V. Bobrenev: "At the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] An expanded session of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office collegium has discussed the state of work on the struggle against cases of draft evasion and measures to enhance its effectiveness. Taking part in the work of the collegium were responsible workers of the USSR Defense Ministry, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and the USSR MVD internal forces.

It was noted that thanks to the increased activeness of commanders, political workers, and workers in the military law enforcement organs to strengthen military discipline and military law and order, since 1985 the total number of cases of draft evasion has been declining consistently in the Army and Navy. But this problem still remains topical.

The collegium session stressed that the majority of cases of absence without leave are caused by the inattention of some commanders and political workers to the needs of their subordinates. One condition promoting draft evasion is a too superficial medical examination of draftees, some of whom have illnesses restricting their ability to endure physical and psychological burdens.

The military prosecutors have been told to improve the standard of supervision of the execution by military control organs, staffs, and officials of the military statutes' requirements on the stationing of and the material and consumer services provision for servicemen, and the struggle against violations of the statutory rules for relations between servicemen, and the observance of legality in carrying out the draft.

Presidium Awards Military Orders, Medals

PM1609095588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of USSR Orders and Medals to a Group of Soviet Army Servicemen"—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[Text] For their courage and valor displayed in fulfilling their military duty, award:

The Order of the Red Star to:
Vladimir Gennadyevich Dorodnyy, lieutenant (posthumously);
Valeriy Mikhaylovich Yevtushenko, captain;

Vladimir Nikolayevich Kicherov, senior lieutenant (posthumously);
Yevgeniy Nugzariyevich Samkharadze, private (posthumously).

The order "For Service to the Motherland in the USSR Armed Forces" third class to:
Viktor Borisovich Mekh, lieutenant.

The medal "For Combat Services" to
Aleksandr Leonidovich Grigoryev, junior sergeant;
Igor Nikolayevich Kashin, captain;
Pavel Gennadyevich Pirozhnikov, lieutenant;
Vyacheslav Anatolyevich Chernov, lieutenant.

[Signed] A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, Kremlin, 13 September 1988